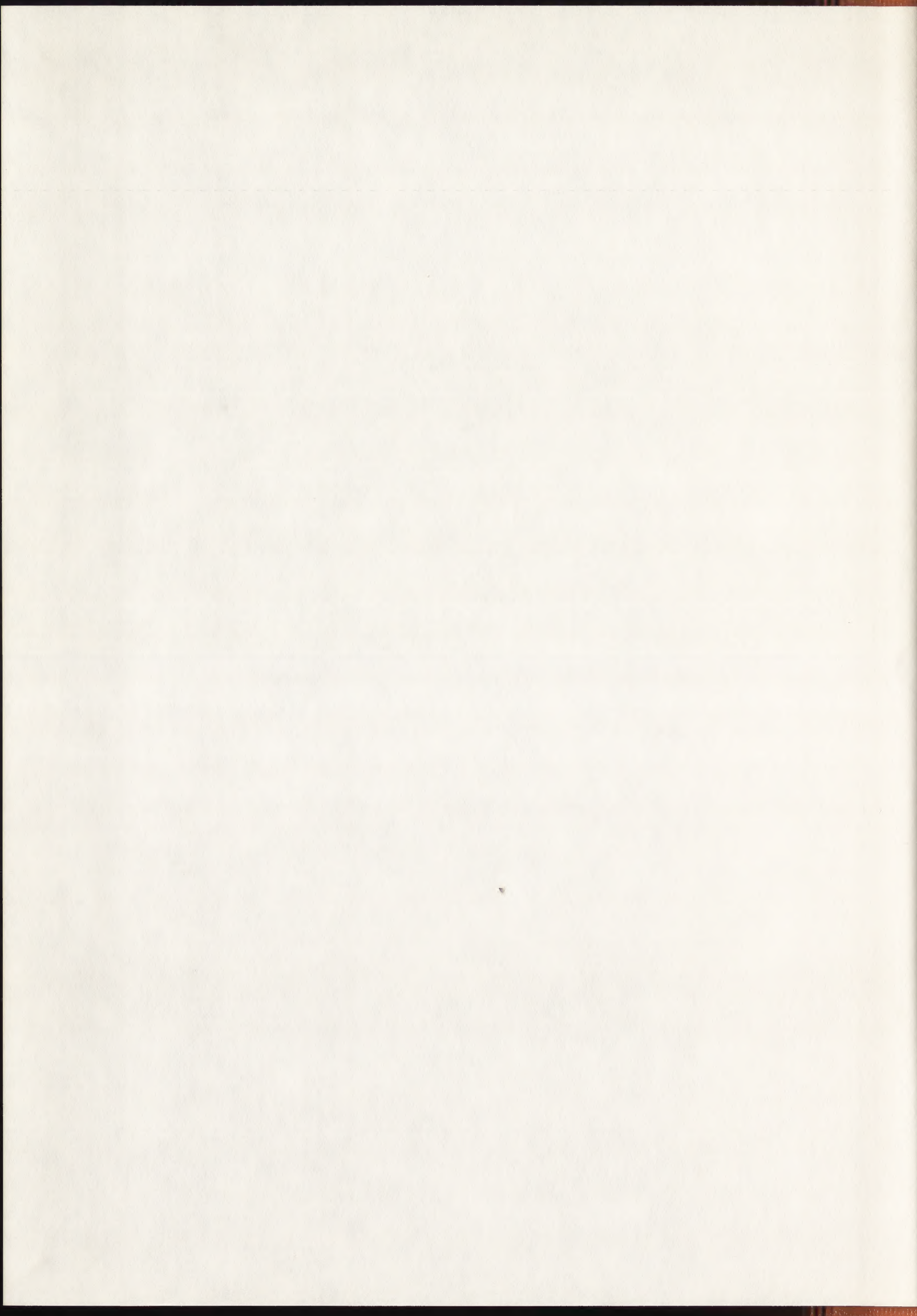


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College Art Association
Of America



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JOHN SHAPLEY, SECRETARY,

COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,

BROWN UNIVERSITY, PROVIDENCE.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC. REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

Of The Art Bulletin, published quarterly, at Providence, Rhode Island, for April 1, 1922.
State of Rhode Island, County of Providence.

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared John Shapley, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of The Art Bulletin, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, College Art Association of America, Brown University, Providence, R. I.; Editor, John Shapley, Brown University, Providence, R. I.; Managing Editor, John Shapley, Brown University, Providence, R. I.; Business Managers, None.

2. That the owners are: College Art Association of America, Brown University, Providence, R. I.

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John Shapley

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 3d day of April, 1922

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F. T. Guild, Notary Public

(My commission expires June 30, 1923)

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College Art Association of America

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THE JOURNAL

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FIG. 1—TOLEDO, S. JOSÉ (formerly): ST. MARTIN, BY EL GRECO (*Photo. Moreno*)

The Rider on the White Horse

BY GEORGIANA GODDARD KING



IN a relief from the tomb of the Blessed Albert of Pontida (Fig. 2) which Professor Arthur Kingsley Porter¹ found in the sacristy of San Giacomo, Albert's old Cluniac priory, at Pontida, near Bergamo,² occurs a significant subject, the identification of which is the starting point of this study in iconography. The relief represents St. James Major as the lord of the dead, a rare aspect of his cult except upon the pilgrimage-road to Compostella. Iconographically it is, so far as I know, unique. He is the rider on the white horse of the Fourth Miracle (dated 1080, but written c. 1130), who carried the living and the dead. Professor Porter wished to date the relief shortly after 1095: I am not quite sure for my part that it should not be put later, at any rate after the death of another Piedmontese saint, the Blessed Albert of Vercelli, who had been on the pilgrimage to St. James, who died in the Holy Land in 1214, and who came to be associated with Elijah and the Carmelite order and revered even by Mohammedans. The reason for this later approximation will presently appear. Professor Porter very justly notes the parallel between the relief and the third horseman of the Apocalypse,³ who is painted only in a Spanish series of manuscripts that range from the eighth to the eleventh century or later and exist at Urgell, Madrid, Paris, and elsewhere, and are transcriptions of the Commentary of a Spanish monk Beato of Liebenau. The relief belongs absolutely to the Compostellan cycle and is a plastic parallel to *The Vision of Thurkill*,⁴ in which the souls were weighed in the Basilica of the Apostle by St. Michael. Here St. James recombines the two aspects of Horus which were usually split and divided between himself and St. Michael. The three naked souls waiting in a palm tree are the souls expectant in the Paradise of God; on the northernmost door of the *Pórtico de la Gloria* of Master Matthew they sit in rich leafage. Further, they are equivalent to those souls unborn who sit in trees and sing, and the tree is the date palm in which Carpaccio set his St. Ursula with a row of cherub-heads for the cluster of fruit. This part of the relief seems to be derived directly from sculpture on a capital. The theme belongs,⁵ as said, to the pilgrimage—"MIGRAVIT AD ASTRA," says the epitaph—and goes back ultimately perhaps to Egypt, with which the Spanish connection was always close. The priory of San Giacomo was burned in 1373 and the relics translated to S. Maria Maggiore in Bergamo: but the horseman went too. He rides between two bishops, high in the north porch. Indeed, he stayed permanently on North Italian sepulchral monuments, like that of Bernabo Visconti in Milan and those of the Scaligers in Verona.

¹Whom I must thank for the generous loan of photographs for reproduction.

²A. K. Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, vol. I, *passim*; vol. III, pp. 294 ff.; plate 189, fig. 2.

³"And when he had opened the third seal, I heard the third beast say, Come and see. And I beheld, and, lo, a black horse; and he that sat on him had a pair of balances in his hand." (Rev., vi, 5.)

⁴*The Vision of Thurkill*, published by H. L. D. Ward, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. XXXI (1875), pp. 420-459.

⁵The Egyptian Liturgy of the Holy Apostles says: "Before the resplendent throne of Thy majesty, O Lord, and the exalted throne of Thy glory, and on the awful seat of the strength of Thy love and the propitiatory altar which Thy will hath established, in the region of Thy pasture, with thousands of cherubim praising Thee, and ten thousands of seraphim sanctifying Thee, we draw near, adore, thank, and glorify Thee always, O Lord of all." It is common also in the Odes of Solomon, which Dr. Rendell Harris inclines to think are Antiochene.

The investigation of the iconography in question has various aspects.

First, there is St. James as lord of the dead. This I have followed out in my book, *The Way of St. James*, and must assume as demonstrated: he leads the souls; he, or St. Michael, his surrogate, weighs them in judgment. At Compostella on the south façade he stands between two cypress trees in this cult-aspect, as a chthonian power (Fig. 3). The church was begun in 1078 and consecrated in 1102. Aymery Picaud saw the cypress trees in 1120 and mentioned them about 1130. This cult-image was copied on the transept-face at Toulouse (Fig. 4), and the cypress trees prove the priority of Santiago to St. Sernin.

Secondly, there is the figure of the horseman, developing with St. James as rider; this also must be taken as demonstrated in *The Way of St. James*.

The original Iberian horseman of the coins (see the initial of this article, an Iberian Jinete on a Roman coin of Jelsa) and the Salas relief, Mérida¹ believes to be one of the Dioscuri, namely, Castor, the mortal twin.

The so-called Thracian horseman of the Imperial Ottoman Museum (Fig. 5) was doubtless, on the cult side, such another as Castor, a tribal hero, honored after death. The sculpture, brought from Salonica about 1874, was said to have been found "on the portico of Constantine" — an odd and early association of rider and emperor, completely accidental, as the Arch of Galerius was probably intended. Another report will have it embedded in the city walls. The museum catalogue would like to make the piece a funerary monument, but admits that the figure may well be "un Héros propylaos." The two attendant barbarians are Hellenistic, Pergamene in style; the work is hard to date, but cannot be very far from the Christian era.² This rider constitutes the earliest fully developed example that I have found of the theme, but plastically this figure, it is easy to see, had predecessors. It shows already the elements that are to appear later: comparing it with the Defender of the Faith, we find the rearing horse, the flying cloak, the form under the horse's belly, the attendants behind; and certainly the missing plaque of the Barberini Ivory held another vertical figure at the right: comparing it with the Verona Theodoric, we find the cloak, the dog, and the vertical motive on the extreme right: comparing it with almost any presentation of St. George, we find the same themes of dragon-killer, rearing horse, raised lance, and animal underneath.

St. James as rider is found in Romanesque sculpture of the twelfth century, for instance, inside the south transept at Compostella (Fig. 6), and in Gothic sculpture, for instance at Betanzos and La Coruña (Fig. 7), and thenceforward, as Santiago Matamoros.

We have particularly to deal with the rider on the *white horse*.³ The most perfect plastic presentation of it is on the Barberini ivory, the figure whom some have called Constantine and some have called Justinian: he is, like that of the Pontida sculpture, a figure of folk-belief, a tribal hero, manifested for the moment as an emperor. But even more interesting is the Louvre relief of Horus slaying the crocodile.

In Egypt Horus was a tribal hero—belonging to those Egyptians whose totem was the sparrow hawk. He is also a sort of twin, for there are two of him, one an elder son, the other born of the dead Osiris. Finally, he is a rider: Plutarch knew that, and had great trouble in explaining it when discussing the mysteries of Osiris. That these mysteries touch folk-belief and primitive currents of thought, I need not stop to show: let me

¹J. Ramón Mérida, *El Jinete Ibérico*, *Bol. Soc. Esp. Exc.*, vol. VIII (1900), p. 175.

²Gustave Mendel, *Catalogue des Sculptures*, Constantinople, 1914; vol. II, pp. 172-175.

³"And I saw, and behold a white horse, and he that sat on him had a bow, and a crown was given unto him, and he went forth conquering and to conquer." (Rev., vi, 2.)



FIG. 2—PONTIDA, S. GIACOMO: RELIEF IN THE SACRISTY FROM THE TOMB OF ST. ALBERT OF PONTIDA (*Photo. Porter*)



FIG. 3—SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELLA, CATHEDRAL, PUERTA DE LAS PLATERIAS: ST. JAMES BETWEEN CYPRESS TREES (*Photo. Porter*)



FIG. 4—TOULOUSE, ST. SERVIN, PORTAL ON SOUTH SIDE OF CHURCH (SPANDREL): ST. JAMES BETWEEN CYPRESS TREES (*Photo Porter*)





FIG. 5.—CONSTANTINOPLE, OTTOMAN MUSEUM: HELLENISTIC RELIEF FROM THRACE (*Photo. Sebah and Joaillier*)





FIG. 7.—LA CORUÑA, CHURCH OF SANTIAGO, WEST PORTAL: ST. JAMES AS RIDER (*Photo. Louber*)

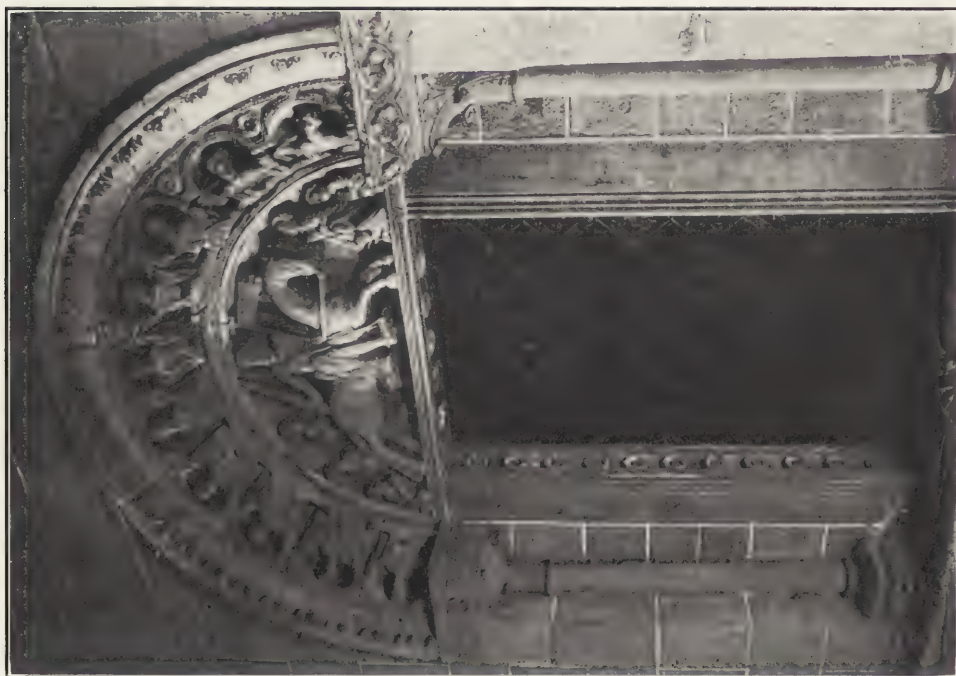


FIG. 6.—SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELLA, CATHEDRAL, WINDOW OF SOUTH TRANSEPT FROM INTERIOR: ST. JAMES AS RIDER



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This brings us to Syrian soil, where Jewish, Christian, and Arab lore intermingle. Dr. Bliss⁶ says there are sanctuaries where still three races worship a single power whom they invoke respectively as Elijah, St. George, and Kadir. The Blessed Albert of Vercelli was also included, it would seem. Now Kadir, the ever green, the deathless, like Elijah, seems in some sense the heaven-mounting twin of a pair. The rider was known in Syria ever since Mithras came down from his Iranian sanctuary. René Dussaud has shown how the second and third centuries of our era recognized the horseman and called him Apollo. The Crusaders recognized him and called him St. George of Cappadocia. It seems that at a certain point one of the twins tends to disappear.

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⁴*The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, Vol. II, Frontispiece.

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"And Heliodorus fell suddenly unto the ground, and was compassed with great darkness: but they that were with him took him up, and put him into a litter." (II Maccabees, iii, 24–27.)

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The Dioscuri, whose cult was established at Sparta, did not come from the north but were tribal heroes,¹ and this rider, who so often appears as one of them, is roughly speaking a Mediterranean power: Cappadocia, Syria, Egypt, Sardinia (which claims the dragon-slaying of St. George and shows the field reddened with the blood of virgins sacrificed) and the Balearic Isles, Venice, Genoa, Catalonia, and the Iberian land even to Compostella and the cape of Finisterre—this itinerary defines and limits the original habitat of the figure, if you but add from Danubian lands what is variously called Hungary, Pannonia, and Slavonia. For in Bamberg the figure of the rider is known as St. Stephen of Hungary; and St. Martin came from Pannonia to Gaul, and was a soldier before he was a bishop.

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FIG. 8—LUCCA, CATHEDRAL, FAÇADE: ST. MARTIN





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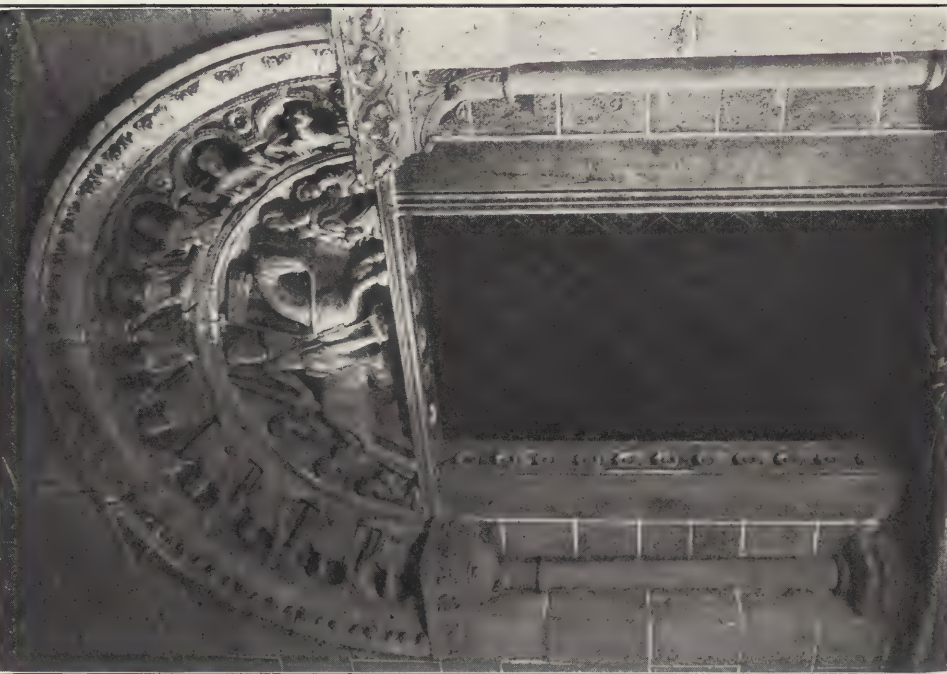


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¹Farnell, *Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality*, p. 191.

²M. Dieulafoy, *L'art antique de la Perse*, vol. III, plate ii.



FIG. 8—LUCCA, CATHEDRAL, FAÇADE: ST. MARTIN





FIG. 9—NAPLES, MUSEO NAZIONALE: ST. MARTIN (*Photo. Alinari*)



FIG. 10—BARCELONA, DEERING COLLECTION (formerly): ST. GEORGE (*Photo. Mas*)



FIG. 11—VALENCIA, MUSEUM: ST. MARTIN (*Photo. Grollo*)



alb, precisely as Gonzalo de Berceo describes Santiago and St. Millan as appearing at the battle of Simancas. To be sure Wace says it was Bishop Odo of Bayeux—but Wace has no stomach for marvels, and in his legend of St. George allows neither dragon nor princess. He uses the same method that Bernal Diaz uses to get rid of the apparitions of St. James in the Americas.¹ And why should the horse be white, when even William's own horse fetched from Spain by a pilgrim returning from Compostella has no stated color? William the Conqueror dedicated Battle Abbey to "St. Martin the patron of the soldiers of Gaul." It was named the Monastery of St. Martin of Battle. Duke William's father, Robert the Devil, on his way to the Holy Land passed through Rome, saw and recognized a horseman, and gave him a cloak from his own wardrobe. He blamed the barons of Rome for neglecting so their *advocate*. Wace calls this figure Constantine, after the manner of the twelfth century—but Wace is writing a hundred and fifty years after the event. He is clear about the gift, for his grandfather Tosteins was the duke's chamberlain and picked out the cloak no doubt. Constantine was a patron, never an intercessor, and there is no sense in the cloak episode unless the rider were St. Martin. There is one other cloak episode that I recall, and no more. Polyeuctes, who is also a soldier saint, had a vision of Christ, who took from him his torn and worn chlamys and replaced it by a new chlamys of silk with a gold buckle and gave him a winged horse on which he is to ride to heaven²—the resultant figure being neither more nor less than the Dashlug relief. We forget sometimes how the twelfth century euhemerized and adapted—it may seem very primitive to us, but it was really an extraordinarily complex and sophisticated age, which was putting its own interpretation on an altered past. The later Middle Ages did call the riders on French churches Constantine, and Wace relates according to his lights.

In the thirteenth-century Beauvais window, though it was composed in the interest of the great abbey, and he is ordained deacon before he sees Christ, St. Martin rides three times, at least, and is coupled with St. Demetrius, and the heavenly twins appear to him, "two angels casqued and armed," forming such a conjunction as in the miracle of Heliodorus driven from the temple. The figure at Saint-Étienne-le-Vieux of Caen is certainly St. Martin: my notebook is positive. On the doors of churches dedicated to St. Martin horseshoes were nailed up, by a primitive use, that apparently still persists, at Amiens and at Palada in the Pyrenees alike. I am certain that I have seen St. Martin as rider figuring in Spanish churches, for example, at Irache on a capital, with the more conviction because Spain boasts an early St. Martin of her own, him of Braga, called also Dumiensis, who came likewise from Pannonia to convert the heathen in the West, and died a bishop, being born in 520 and dying in 580, and his day being kept on March 20.

The horseman, whether St. Martin or Santiago, is a fairly common figure on Spanish Romanesque churches, at Puente la Reyne, for instance, at St. Mary Roadside of Carrión, at S. Andrés of Armentia, and elsewhere; as a rule, and in the earlier work, the pendant to it is a man dominating a lion. The significance of this I do not fully understand and it is not necessary here to explain. There is also a figure of St. Martin at Angoulême, pendant there to St. George.

Of the horsemen that are found on churches in the west of France I have left myself too little space to speak and mere indication must suffice. They all appear shortly after that outbreak of apparitions in battle, 1087, 1095, 1098.

C. Enlart says there are twenty-five known and recorded; he opines that they represent Constantine and where there is a second, then Charlemagne. E. Mâle has made

¹G. G. King, *Military Orders in Spain*, p. 191.

²Rendell Harris, *The Dioscuri in Christian Legend*, pp. 58–59.

accessible to all¹ the cases where the twelfth and sixteenth century actually referred to the figure as a Constantine: the legend of Constantine the leper depicted at Riez in the Basses-Alpes, the painting of Constantine in the Baptistery at Poitiers. These two are authentic allusions, to my mind; the others, just such a case of the twelfth century misunderstanding antiquity as that of Aymery Picaud thinking that the lady caressing a lion, in the tympanum at Compostella, was a great lover fondling the skull of her dead paramour. The twelfth century made the same mistakes as we. As for Enlart's note that in the families of Melle and Surgères the name of Constantine occurs, all that ever it could prove is that babies were named in accordance with *current* tradition.

All these churches where the horseman is found lie on the road of returning pilgrims from Compostella. The pilgrimage antedates the carvings by many centuries. Since the horseman is indigenous to Spain, there is more likelihood that he was brought back thence than by the Roman pilgrims, for, as I have said, the figure is rare in the heart of Italy, and even St. George goes mostly afoot. In at least one instance a French church has copied Spain and partly misunderstood: at Vouvant (Vendée) on one side is the man tearing a lion of the Spanish churches and on the other a woman bending over what seems a dead baby. The dead baby was once a dead Moor, and the source was such a figure as the Santiago Matamoros at Sangüesa. Spain counts for much in the appearance of this twelfth-century *motif*, but there was probably beforehand something, a primitive stock on which to graft.

Along other pilgrimage-roads, through Auvergne, for example, the rider is not found. The soil was not congenial. Strabo recorded that the western Celts all worshipped the Dioscuri—there is a sarcophagus at Toulouse and an altar at Paris to confirm him. These horsemen tend to occur in pairs, as at Angoulême, and where there is only one the position is such as to call for some sort of pendant. Surgères, Parthenay, Sainte-Croix-de-Bordeaux, indeed, all of the churches sustain this observation. The great twin brethren who are the soldier saints have not been forgotten; they have only been christened. But the name bestowed in baptism varied: at Pontida it was James; at Bordeaux it was George, and so it was at Basel.

If the Dioscuri are the morning and evening stars, not seen together, we must expect to find the mortal twin left behind in folk-lore. So the rider, who is the tribal hero, comes at last to be the wild huntsman. Woden, the all-father, yet rides with his hell-hounds through the Hartz Mountains and the Black Forest. Theoderic of Verona rides straight to hell on the façade of S. Zeno (Fig. 12), but his galloping horse and his flying mantle are identical with those of Santiago Matamoros at La Coruña (Fig. 7) and the "Constantine" at Parthenay-le-Vieux (Fig. 13). Such a standing figure as that in Verona on the extreme right was observed by Mâle as an integral part of the French composition. So a plastic motive, like a religious motive, can live on with content completely varied. Finally, Arthur of Britain is also a wild huntsman in the north of England and in precisely that part of France where we find both the Celtic residue and the style of architecture in which the horseman is embedded. Arthur still rides in France in a broad strip along the west coast from Brittany to the Pyrenees,² from the cape of Finisterre down to Cahors and Foix, and across the Pyrenees where Heine laid the scene of Atta Troll.

¹*L'art du moyen age et les pèlerinages*, *Revue de Paris*, October, 1912, pp. 717 ff. ; February, 1920, pp. 267 ff.

²Archer Taylor in the *Romanic Review*, 1921, II, pp. 286-289. In one English spell he is replaced by "St. George our Lady's knight," precisely as St. George replaces St. James at the siege of Huesca.



FIG. 12--VERONA, S. ZENO, FAÇADE: THEODORIC RIDING TO HELL, BY NICCOLÒ



FIG. 13--PARTHENAY-LE-VIEUX, PARISH CHURCH, NORTH LUNETTE OF FAÇADE: "CONSTANTINE"
(*Photo. Porter*)



Germanic the rider is not. I have shown his Mediterranean extension; in view of the evidence it seems likely that he was carried up to the rock-hewn relief that the Sassanians had carved by captive artisans, subjects of the empire, as he was carried up to the Swiss cathedral. Nowhere in Europe is the figure rooted so deeply as in Spain.¹ It lives on in the art of Greco (Fig. 1) and in the novel of Blasco Ibañez.

¹The architecture of the French churches mentioned owes much to Spain and perhaps something directly to the East: whatever did not come from the Eastern Mediterranean regions came from Spain.

Themes of the Japanese *Netsuké*-Carver

BY HELEN B. CHAPIN

THE small carvings usually of wood or ivory called *netsuké* were made in Japan chiefly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Designed for use by the average Japanese of those times, the *samurai*, farmers, artisans, and merchants, especially those living in or near the flourishing city of Edo (now Tokyo), they have practically the same background as the well-known color-prints. To explain the nature and function of the *netsuké*, which are of a more practical character than the prints, I can not do better than quote the description given in the *Netsuké Gallery Book* issued by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (cf. Fig. 1).

"The term *netsuké* may be understood to mean 'end attachment,' and describes, somewhat vaguely, the function of the small carvings to which it is most commonly applied. The term *inro* means 'seal basket,' and originally designated a receptacle for the personal seals which literary men and artists carried with them for use in signing their productions. Later, however, the *inro* was made smaller and consisted of several narrow, horizontally disposed compartments neatly fitted together and each provided with a hole so situated in either end as to form part of a continuous perforation running through either edge of the assembled *inro*. Such *inro* were usually made of wood decorated with carving or lacquer-work, and in them various medicines were kept.

"In practice, the ends of a cord were passed upward through the perforations in an *inro* and were drawn out several inches beyond the top, leaving below the bottom enough slack to be tied in an ornamental knot. Both ends were then passed through a large bead known as an *ojimé* or 'cord binder' which might be slid up or down so as to loosen or tighten the loop in which the *inro* hung, thus allowing the compartments to be separated or holding them firmly together, according to circumstances. Finally, the cord was passed through the hole in a *netsuké* and the ends were joined in a hard knot. When, therefore, the *netsuké* was pushed up through the belt, it served to hold the *inro* securely suspended." *Netsuké* were generally used in much the same way to fasten to the girdle tobacco-pouches and pipe-cases.

Just as the Japanese print-designer used with facility for his own purposes all the stock themes of the older schools of painting, both religious and secular, as well as scenes of contemporary life, so the *netsuké*-carver, too, was an eclectic and a modern. Through him found expression the restless spirit of the *Ukiyo*: although the *netsuké* on the whole presented less opportunity than the prints for caricature or for new interpretations of old themes, and seldom portray famous actors and courtesans, nevertheless, they exhibit those qualities of good-humored gaiety, superficial cleverness, and careless appreciation of amusing coincidences and of things and moments as they pass, which belong only to dwellers in the *Ukiyo*.

The term *Ukiyo*, literally, "floating (or fleeting) world," was originally a Buddhist phrase, used in contempt of our transient existence. The daily round of everyday life, long known to poets as this "dewdrop world," in reference to a passage in a Buddhist text, saying of human life that it is "like a dream, like a vision, like a bubble, like a shadow, like dew, like lightning," now became known similarly as the *Ukiyo*. This phrase was first applied in the seventeenth century to certain genre paintings, then a new venture in art, and later



BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS: 1—AN *intro* IN FIVE SECTIONS. DESIGN (by EISEN): HORSES. LACQUER. BY KOMA-KYUHAKU (II ?), LATE 18TH CENTURY. *Netsuké*: WOOD. A *tsuzumi*. 2—TOBACCO POUCH. BLUE BROCADED SILK, PAINTED IN GOLD BY TEIKWA, 19TH CENTURY (?). IVORY CLASP AND *netsuké* BY KWAIGYOKUSAI MASATSUGU, 19TH CENTURY. 3—A LEATHER POUCH ATTACHED TO A *netsuké* IN THE FORM OF A MASK OF OKINA. *Netsuké*, WOOD. BY DEMÉ SUKEMITSU, 18TH CENTURY. *Ojime* IN THE FORM OF A RAT, IVORY. BY RYOUN, 18TH-19TH CENTURY. 4—FUJIN, THE WIND-GOD, WITH HIS BAG. WOOD. BY RISEN, 18TH CENTURY. INSCRIBED, "EXECUTED IN (MY) 76TH YEAR." 5—A TIGER. WOOD. BY TOMOKAZU, 18TH-19TH CENTURY.



came to be associated with the work of a whole school, in much the same way as originated the term "Impressionism," applied to the work of the Barbizon school in France. The *Ukiyo-é* (*é* means "picture" or "art") artist and his public, far from taking the Buddhist point of view, approached more nearly to the Elizabethan attitude: their motto, expressed in corresponding Western terms, was "Gather ye rosebuds while ye may." By the late eighteenth century, it seems the people no longer realized their folly, no longer understood the viewpoint of the poet in accepting life: "Granted this dewdrop world be but a dewdrop world, this granted, yet . . ." Instead, they became more and more entangled in the net of pleasure, forgetful alike of the future and of pleasure's inevitable companion, pain. Under the "Great Peace of the Tokugawa," Japan, though ruled by a family of militarists, experienced, after centuries of civil strife, two hundred and fifty years of freedom from bloodshed. During this period the commoners found such security, wealth, and leisure as were unprecedented in the days of the powerful and predatory barons, but they were allowed only a limited sphere in which to employ these advantages. They could not wear swords, were subject to espionage, and were forbidden to trespass on what belonged to the higher classes. Shut off from nobler occupations by this strict feudal *régime*, the common people of Japan, especially those in the new capital of Edo, gave themselves up to the pursuit of wealth, which came rather easily in those days. This endeavor they yielded only to the more fascinating pursuit of pleasure, which became more and more the end of their existence. The higher classes looked on with outward scorn, though many of them joined, more or less secretly, in the amusements of the wealthier commoners. Out of these conditions were born the popular theatres and the Yoshiwara, or "Gay Quarters" of Edo, which furnished the chief themes for the prints. The *netsuké*, being intended for use and not for advertisements of actors and beauties, and for use by almost the entire population, represent as well as the gay life of the pleasure-seekers, the soberer and simpler side of the life of the great city and the countryside around.

Many and varied as are the subjects dealt with in these fanciful and ingenious carvings, they may be generally grouped under the following heads: genre subjects including, besides scenes of contemporary life, animals and illustrations of proverbs; second, theatrical subjects, really a large subheading under the first; third, historical and legendary matter, both Chinese and Japanese; and fourth, classical themes, that is, those which had for long ages, both in China and Japan, been traditionally used by artists, especially painters. Buddhist subjects may usually be included under one or the other of these heads. It may be noted that these classes of subject tend more or less to merge, and it will soon be obvious to the reader that all of them, as used by the *netsuké*-carvers, who were but unlettered artisans working for the middle and lower classes, are tinged with folk-lore. The treatment in every case, indeed, is in accord with the spirit of the times, which found its best known and, perhaps, its most characteristic expression in the color-prints. The carver never failed to seize upon a chance of associating different ideas, derived often from very disparate sources, and his result sets a thousand related fancies running in the mind of the initiated observer. Ingenious as was his treatment of the subject, his use of various and sundry materials in such a way as to bring out different objects represented or different parts of objects, is no less clever. *Netsuké* were usually made of wood or ivory, sometimes of other materials, such as horn, amber, lacquer, or pottery, and to the basic material various metals, coral, ivory, and pottery were commonly added as ornamental inlays or put on in relief.

Under each of these headings treated in the above order, the subjects of a number of *netsuké* will be explained. This loose treatment may, it is hoped, serve to give some idea of

the range of themes and the method of their expression, though the latter point is necessarily brought out more or less by the way. Even less is known about the lives of the *netsuké*-carvers than of those of the print-designers, and as their names would scarcely have a familiar ring in the ears of my readers, I shall, in describing various *netsuké*, omit the names of the artists, confining myself for the most part to the themes used. Under the illustrations, however, the name of the carver and his date, or the approximate date of the piece, are given.

Before starting in on the *netsuké*, it may be well to have before us a picture of the whole device: we shall, therefore, consider a tobacco-pouch provided with a *netsuké* and an *ojimé*, all designed to illustrate the cultivation of the silkworm (Fig. 2). Now silk-manufacture was a prominent industry of the day, for the beauties and stage heroes had to be supplied with shimmering silks and brilliant brocades. This subject may thus be classed as genre; on the other hand, the production of silk is classic and takes us back to pre-historic China, for an empress, wife of one of the legendary emperors (about 2700 B. C.) is said to have introduced in that country the culture of silkworms. As early as the second century B. C., China was supplying Rome with woven and embroidered textiles, of great beauty of design and weave. Throughout the fields of literature and painting occur references to this industry, as, for instance, the famous painting in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, by a Chinese emperor of the twelfth century A. D., showing ladies preparing newly woven silk for use. The *Ehon Jikishiho*, a Japanese book by Morikuni, published in 1744, which furnished so much material, once part of a carefully guarded secret tradition, to the Ukiyo-é artist, gives a series of pictures of sericulture, after which several sets of prints were made. Our pouch and its ornaments take us through some of the processes of the growth of the silkworm. First, on the back of the pouch, a skilfully carved larva, fastened to the cloth, is realistically eating a mulberry leaf, painted in gold. After three rests and a great deal of feeding in between, the silkworms take their "great rest," and spin a silk cocoon. The *netsuké* represents such a cocoon; the ivory is about the same creamy white as the real cocoon and is carved to represent its rough surface and the characteristic indentation in the centre. When the moths emerge from the cocoons, they soon pair; and the clasp on our pouch skilfully represents this process, the female moth on one side being made larger than the male on the other side, as is really the case. The *ojimé*, made of wood stained purple or maroon, with a green ivory stem, looks just like a mulberry fruit, and the cord passes through a half-eaten leaf, made of *kiri* (pawlonia) wood, on the top of the pouch. This elaborate affair in all probability adorned the person of some young dandy. It shows the realistic tendency so marked in the *netsuké*, which seems to be less prominent in the case of the prints (compare the set of twelve prints on this subject by Utamaro, in which the silk moths look like ordinary butterflies, or even more like ribbon bows), and also the rather—what shall I say—pungent taste of the times, which is even stronger, perhaps, in the prints than in the *netsuké*.

The carvers of *netsuké* treated many genre themes, such as are seldom, if ever, met with in the ancient classic art. Here we see the common people at their usual occupations, children at play, fishermen and farmers, artisans and country women with their bundles of firewood and kitchen utensils for sale, and many similar figures and scenes. The women who came to Kyoto from Ohara and other villages to sell fuel and homemade utensils of wood, were familiar sights in the city streets, and came to be generally known as *Ohara-mé*, or "Ohara women," whether they came from Ohara or from some other village. In *netsuké*, they appear with their packages nicely balanced on their heads on their way to town, or as they

looked at a halt on the journey, seated on their merchandise, smoking a pipe. In Japan, it may be noted, their sex was no bar to women in the matter of smoking, though it was in some other matters. People are caught at odd moments by the carver: one *netsuké* shows a fisherman in a tiny boat struggling with an octopus as large as he, another, a blind minstrel, with his *biwa* or lute hung over his back in a bag, face downward, feeling his way across a country bridge.

Children at play are frequently to be met with, often with toys, such as paper or wooden masks, drums, and so forth, and illustrations of games also. A peculiar pastime known as *akambé* gives the carver a chance to exercise his ever-ready ingenuity; the game consists in hiding a mask behind one, at the same time pulling down one of the lower lids and sticking out the tongue, as if to say, "Find it if you can." Pink coral is often used to represent the tongue and is so contrived that it slips in and out of the mouth when the *netsuké* is moved. A game similar to chess, which often finds illustration among the *netsuké*, seems to occur chiefly in connection with Chinese sages, with whom it has long been traditionally associated (Fig. 16); being a difficult game, skill in playing it is accounted one of the Four Accomplishments with painting, calligraphy, and music as the other three.

Objects of everyday use are often skilfully treated. Thus one *netsuké* is made in the shape of a little box, the lid of light, the main part of dark, wood; a blossoming plum branch outside a round window, done in lacquer, decorates the lid. Another represents a basket (Fig. 7), the weave of which is well simulated in wood, and the contents, irregular sized pieces of charcoal, are as realistically shown. Many are the similar representations of the fisherman's property: now an eel-trap with its catch (Fig. 13), as described below, occurs; again, out of an old broken jar an octopus sticks its head, or from inside an iron pot pushes up the wooden cover with its tentacles. From the properties of the housewife and the fisherman to those of the scholar, all find illustration. One *inro* of black lacquer represents a cake of ink and the *netsuké* shows a half-used piece of a cake. The Chinese and Japanese had solid pieces of ink which were often decorated with designs and writing, which they dipped in water and ground on a stone slab, making a fluid of about the consistency of India ink. This they applied to paper or silk with a brush, using it equally for painting and writing, both processes being considered fine arts in the East.

Proverbs capable of concrete representation are often portrayed in *netsuké*. We find, for instance, a monkey holding a gourd and pressing with it upon the back of a catfish. This illustrates the phrase commonly applied to any obviously foolish undertaking, "a monkey holding down a catfish with a gourd." The catfish being slippery and the gourd smooth, this undertaking is well-nigh impossible, and consequently only a monkey or, what is practically the same thing, a stupid person, would try it. Catfish always suggest to the Japanese earthquakes, which, as is well-known, are common in their country. According to legend, when the catfish under the earth gets angry, its movements shake the land and an earthquake ensues. This phrase, therefore, may have the added meaning, "as foolish as to try to stop an earthquake." Earthquakes are one of the four things most to be feared, according to the popular saying, "(Beware of) earthquakes, fire, thunder (*i. e.*, lightning), and old men;" the last item may remind the reader of Yeats' delineation of the aged in the "Land of Heart's Desire," as "old and crabbed and worldly wise."

A frog sitting on an overturned well-bucket suggests the saying "Like a well-frog (who has never seen the big sea)," applied to anyone who has experience only in a narrow circle and thinks of himself as a very important person. An interesting illustration of the saying, "A dragon issuing from an ash-bowl," used in reference to any unexpected event,

occurs. This idea is probably derived from the dragon which one of the disciples of the Buddha is supposed to bring forth at will from his begging-bowl. The dragon is, perhaps, as well-known as any motive in Far Eastern art, and I shall not stop here to describe it.¹ The *netsuké* in question (Fig. 22) represents the *tabako-bon* or smokers' tray, with several utensils on it, among them the vase-like receptacle used for ashes, commonly made of bamboo. Out of this emerges a large dragon, coiled upon himself. The base of the tray, though uncut, was probably intended to be used as a seal.

Netsuké representing animals, insects, and even plants frequently occur; and among those known to the writer are examples showing now, as described above, a frog on an old well-bucket or on a worn-out sandal, again, turtles climbing over one another, or puppies at play, a rat on an old broom, or a snail stretching out of its shell to creep down the side of an overturned tub (Fig. 8). A turtle made of tortoise-shell is provided with moveable head, legs, and tail, and thus appears to be swimming in a pond, on which float lotus leaves made of ivory (Fig. 18). A wasps' nest, cleverly carved of wood, hangs from a twig; wasps climb over the sides and one moveable one slips in and out of one of the cylindrical openings in the nest. Monkeys are a favorite subject: we have already noticed one example, and others are many. One tiny simian is of sandalwood, from which emanates a pleasant fragrance. A *netsuké* representing a tiger (Fig. 5) is interesting. This animal was not common in Japan but from ancient times had been used as an art motive. As an illustration of plant life may be cited a *netsuké* in the form of three mushrooms (Fig. 12). Frequently an apparently natural animal or group alludes to some popular saying, legend or quotation from literature, or is so associated with some season or emotion that its presence alone suggests the related idea or sensation. Thus, the cicada on an old tree is sometimes met with: it always suggests the autumn and usually sadness. This singing insect is familiar to readers of Chinese and Japanese lyric poems; the sense of one such verse from an ancient Japanese anthology is as follows, "No one except the murmuring wind visits my lonely cottage on the mountainside, where the cicada sings."² A frog on a lotus (see cover design) may be a frog "and nothing more," or it may suggest one of a number of short poems. The frog, snail, and toad are popularly looked upon as the "Three Enemies," each one of which has power over one of the others, but is powerless before the third member of the group. The origin of this strange idea I have not been able to learn, though it is doubtless related to two popular games in each of which one of three gestures may be chosen by the two players, a point being won by the player choosing the stronger rôle at a given signal.

The theatre played a large part in the life of the people, who in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries thronged the streets of the capital on their way to the playhouses. From of old there had been the classic stage, on which were enacted serious plays called *No* and between presentations of these, to break the tension, comic interludes known as *Kyogen* (literally, "Mad Words"). Once a year, the people were allowed to come to the castle of the *Shogun* (the highest military commander and the real ruler of Japan), and see a performance of the classic *No*, played by hereditary actors. In other ways, of course, chiefly through intercourse between the *samurai* and the people, information leaked out and imitation *No* and imitation *Kyogen* as well as wholly popular plays were given in the city theatres. It even became the custom to begin performances with a dance similar to the ancient classic dance called *Sambaso*, which is said to have been first performed in A. D. 807. The dance was usually given by three characters, from one of whom, *Sambaso* (Fig. 14), it took its name.

¹I may refer the reader to Okakura, *The Awakening of Japan*, pp. 77-79.

²For this translation from the *Kokinshu* I am indebted to Miss Chie Hirano.



BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS: 6—KINTARO FORCING OPEN THE MOUTH OF A BEAR. WOOD. BY JUGYOKU, 19TH CENTURY, AFTER (A PIECE BY) MIWA, 18TH CENTURY. 7—A BASKET CONTAINING CHARCOAL. WOOD. BY YUZAN, 18TH CENTURY. 8—A SNAIL ON AN OVERTURNED TUB. WOOD. BY GYOKURYUSAI TOMOSHIGÉ, 18TH-19TH CENTURY. 9—THE BADGER TEAKETTLE. WOOD. BY MITSUHIRO, 19TH CENTURY. 10—KIYOHIMÉ COILED AROUND A TEMPLE BELL. WOOD; KIYOHIMÉ'S FACE AND CLAWS, IVORY. BY MINKO, 18TH CENTURY. 11—A MASK-PEDDLER FALLEN ASLEEP. WOOD; MASKS, IVORY. BY MIWA, 18TH CENTURY. 12—MUSHROOMS; ON THE CAP OF THE LARGEST IS A SLUG. WOOD, LACQUERED. EARLY 19TH CENTURY. 13—A *Kappa* CAUGHT IN AN EEL-TRAP. WOOD AND GLAZED POTTERY. BY TEIJI, 19TH CENTURY.

Another character was Okina, who, like the preceding, wore an old man's mask (Fig. 3). One *netsuké* represents a box for masks, on top of which is a mask of Okina. When the lid is lifted, a miniature stage becomes visible, with three dancers and two members of the chorus (?). The plays were originally given out of doors and the stage was provided with a roof; later on, although large playhouses were built, the cover to the stage remained. This tiny carving shows the roof clearly, as well as the passageway by which the actors entered and left the stage. A *netsuké* in the form of a cat mask well illustrates the tricks of the carver. The jaw is moveable; inside is carved the figure of a mouse, which disappears behind the teeth when the jaw shuts with a quick motion and a little click. Cat masks were worn in a popular drama based on a certain legend which tells the tale of a wicked cat that killed a beautiful woman, assumed her shape, and used the opportunities thus gained to cause the serious illness of the lord who was the woman's lover.

Representations of characters in the different plays occur, each wearing his peculiar mask, such, for instance, as Kikujido. According to legend, when still a beautiful youth of sixteen, he won at the same time the favor of a Chinese emperor who reigned about 1000 B. C. and the envy and hatred of the courtiers, through whose intrigues he was finally banished. Before he left the court, however, the emperor told him a charm, the saying of which would yield not only eternal life but also the still more precious boon of immortal youth. The boy betook himself to the hills, whither go the wise in China, and there spent a good deal of his time writing the magic words on chrysanthemum petals, which he afterward threw into a stream. The water which came in contact with these flowers drew from them the property of conveying long life, and was drunk as an elixir. Thus Kikujido is shown in *netsuké* as a beautiful youth, with chrysanthemums either in his hands or as a decorative design on his garments.

Kiyohimé, a character in another play, is also represented. The legend upon which this drama is based tells us that the heroine, or, rather, villainess, was the daughter of an inn-keeper. At the inn her father kept, a priest used always to stay when on his way to or from a certain shrine to which he annually went on a pilgrimage. He was wont to laugh and talk with the child, never dreaming that she would fall in love with him. Finally, however, she became possessed with a fiery passion and on his refusal to return it, followed him to the temple, where he took refuge under the great bell. Kiyohimé in a fury threw herself upon it, changing as she did so to a dragon with a demon-like face. She beat with a ritual implement upon the bell till it became hot and melted, killing both her and the priest. One *netsuké* (Fig. 10) is cleverly carved of black wood (ebony ?); Kiyohimé with a demon's face and claws in ivory, and with the tail of a dragon, encircles the bell under which is the priest. His face, painted to look as if devoured by flames, is visible through a hole in the bell, the handle of which revolves, turning the priest with it.

A *netsuké* made of a nutshell shows four masks used on the popular stage, the protuberances on the shell being cleverly incorporated into the masks. Another represents a mask partly concealed by a yellow cloth wrapping decorated with a cloud design, the mask being horn and its wrapping, ivory. Another *netsuké* shows on one side a demon, whose name is, of course, synonymous with bad luck, and on the inner surface the bulging cheeks of Uzumé, goddess of mirth, whose smiling face brings good fortune. Through the nostrils of the demon, the cord is drawn, and the *ojimé* which runs on it consists of three very real-looking dried beans, which are the terror of all demons and are commonly scattered around on New Year's Day to drive ill-luck out of the house for the

year to come. Such a playful use as well of current ideas as of the material at hand is characteristic of the *netsuké*-carver. Many of the popular plays call for the use of demon masks. This particular *netsuké* is a large one and was probably worn by a wrestler, a class of people in Japan who were of giant size, although they do not appear so in the *netsuké* illustrated here (Fig. 20). Another piece shows a mask-carver cutting a wooden mask representing a character in one of the popular *Kyogen*; he is twisting his own mouth to make it look like the particular mask he is working on, which has protruding, twisted lips. Another (Fig. 11) illustrates a mask-seller fallen asleep over his box, in the open drawer of which are two masks, one of Uzumé and one of a demon, symbolizing, as explained above, good and bad luck, respectively.

Historic figures, both Chinese and Japanese, as they are represented in *netsuké*, carry with them such an accumulation of legend, which has become inextricably entangled with the facts, that it has been thought best in this case to group together historical and legendary subjects.

Frequently to be met with among *netsuké* is the heroic bearded figure of the Chinese warrior Kuan Yü with his enormous halberd, on foot or on horseback. A native of Shantung who died in A. D. 219 after a notable career, he is one of three illustrious soldiers known to the Chinese and Japanese as the "Three Heroes of Later Han," who swore the famous "peach-garden" oath of fidelity to one another—a group sometimes portrayed in *netsuké*. In one case, an opening left in the side of a carved wooden peach, discloses within, a garden landscape, with the three martial figures of our heroes in the foreground. Kuan Yü's adventurous career is outlined in H. A. Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, No. 1009, p. 383.

Chung K'uei (Shoki) is a fierce individual who is looked upon as the foe of all demons. Legend identifies him with a Chinese student who committed suicide because of his failure to pass certain examinations. The emperor, hearing of his case, commanded that he be buried with high honors, and out of gratitude Chung K'uei vowed to devote himself to the task of expelling all demons from China (Fig. 15).

Hsi Wang-mu (Sei-obo), the Royal Western Mother, seems to have been a purely imaginary being, who, according to legend, had a many-storied palace and an extensive peach-garden somewhere in the mountains between Chinese Turkestan and Tibet—a sufficiently inaccessible place. Her peach trees, it is said, bloomed only once in three thousand years, but bore then no ordinary fruit, for the eater thereof gained eternal life. The same Chinese emperor from whose court the beautiful boy Kikujido is said to have been banished (about 1000 B. C.), travelled extensively, and, so goes the story, visited her garden and partook of its precious fruit; and the lady herself, "so say they, sing they, tell they the tale," honored another Chinese emperor (who reigned 140–86 B. C.) with a visit, bringing along ten peaches as a gift, of which, however, three were stolen. As early as the second century A. D. this theme was illustrated on Chinese engraved stone slabs, and has come down through the centuries to be reflected again in a tiny wood-carving for use by, say a Japanese shopkeeper. Outside, the *netsuké* looks like a peach kernel; within is a tiny moveable figure of the Queen of Fairies and Lady of the Peach-grove, leaning against a rock.

Stories of Japanese heroes illustrated in the *netsuké*, follow history a little more closely, perhaps, though here, too, legend has found a way to embellish the truth. Nitta-no-Shiro Tadatsuné once saved the life of the great general Yoritomo of the Minamoto clan, who conquered all Japan in the eleventh century. On one of the hunts given by Yoritomo at

the foot of Mt. Fuji, a wounded wild boar, maddened by pain and terror, headed straight for the Minamoto chief. The faithful Tadatsuné, quick to see his master's danger, spurred on his horse, and, leaping from the saddle, landed on the back of the boar, facing his tail. Grasping firmly this short appendage, he plunged his dagger again and again into the side of the boar, and leaped skilfully off before the animal fell. One *netsuké* (Fig. 19) illustrating this incident adds an unfortunate hunter trampled under the boar's feet.

Yoritomo's brother, Yoshitsuné, is revered in Japan as the flower of chivalry, the true and perfect knight, and he also had a faithful follower: indeed, Benkei has become the type of trusted servant to the Japanese. The fight at the bridge, won by Yoshitsuné, then but a slender boy, over the seven-foot giant, made the latter follow the fortunes of his conqueror with a lifelong devotion—a story which has its counterpart in the merry tale of our own Robin Hood and Friar Tuck, for Benkei too was a religious as well as a fighter, a not unusual combination in mediæval Japan. Many are the stories in which the brawny priest takes a prominent part. When Yoshitsuné had to flee north for his life, it was Benkei who thought of a clever trick by means of which the party passed the barrier of Ataka, though some allege a different reason, saying the man who kept the pass had pity on Yoshitsuné, young and brave and unfortunate as he was, and afterward, for his fault in letting his enemy go by, forfeited his name and estate (in order to save his honor, according to the knightly code). In any case, the party of twelve men, all dressed as wandering priests of a certain sect, came to the pass. Benkei, telling the keepers that he and his party had been commissioned by the abbot of a well-known temple to gather funds for the rebuilding of the fane, then in ruins after a fire, got out a learned looking document from which he read his pretended commission. Carefully carved out of ivory, the stoutly built figure of the big warrior, whose hairy arms are skilfully portrayed, wearing the small polygonal cap of the sect to which he belonged, and carrying on his back a case of books, as all travelling priests do, holds in front of him a scroll from which he is reading; his bold looks seem to say, "Let him doubt who dares."

Another tale in which Benkei figures is that of the bell of Miidera, a temple near Kyoto. This famous bell is five and a half feet high and is very heavy, yet Benkei is said to have stolen it, and, placing it on one end of a wooden beam with his paper lantern to balance it at the other, to have taken it to Hieizan, up a long, steep hill. He was at this time a monk in the latter temple, whose inmates had long envied Miidera its fine bell. The bell, however, missed its old home and, though installed in a place of honor at Hieizan, nevertheless gave out only a mournful tone which seemed to say, "I want to go back to Miidera! I want to go back to Miidera!" Benkei in disgust shouldered the big bell and sent it rolling over and over down the hill almost to the very gate of the rival temple.

Ono-no-Tofu was a nobleman of the tenth century. While still a young student, he became discouraged in his attempts to master the art of calligraphy and abandoned his efforts. While walking disconsolately by a pond in the palace gardens one day, his attention was caught by a frog which was trying to leap from the water to an overhanging willow branch. Again and again the poor creature tried and failed, but keeping up his efforts, at last succeeded. Taking the frog's lesson to heart, Ono-no-Tofu began practicing calligraphy with new vigor and finally gained such power over the brush that he has become traditionally known as the greatest calligrapher of his day and one of the three greatest of all times in Japan. One piece, which has been cut and used as a seal, represents the illustrious man on the back of a large frog (Fig. 21). Doubtless the intention is to suggest his indebtedness to the frog.

Sentaro, whose story seems to derive from the legend of the Chinese Lu-shêng (one version of which is told by F. Hadland Davis in *Myths and Legends of Japan*), is shown on top of a kite, raising himself from a pillow and scratching his head in bewilderment. He is said to have read a book about an ancient worthy sent in the third century B. C. by the Chinese emperor to find the Elysian Fields, that is to say, the three mountainous Islands of the Blessed, supposed to lie somewhere in the Eastern Sea. He settled in Japan near Mt. Fuji and lived and died there; the Japanese have endowed him with the immortality he came to seek and have made him the patron saint of the hermits who live on the sacred mountain. In answer to Sentaro's prayers, the old gentleman appeared to him and gave him a kite upon which to travel to the home of the immortals. Getting upon it, he fell asleep and dreamt: finding himself at the Blessed Isle, he wandered about for some time enjoying the sights. He discovered that the immortals were rather tired of their endless lives and his own senses soon became dull to sensations such as that derived from eating poison without any ill effect. He grew homesick and decided to return; but on settling down on his kite again, he woke up, and it is in this very act that our *netsuké* portrays him. The moral (a not unusual concomitant of these stories) is clear: as Goethe says (I quote from the memory of a translation), "It is well to be careful what we wish for, lest our wish be fulfilled."

Kintaro, the "Golden Boy," lived with his mother, the "Mountain Woman," among the woods and hills. Because of trouble at court, his father, a *samurai*, had committed suicide and his mother had fled. He grew up, living among the wild animals and knowing only his mother. When a mere baby, he showed such extraordinary strength as to be able to overcome fierce animals with his bare hands. During his boyhood, he was discovered by a great warrior who seeing that the boy's strength and courage would be useful to him, made him his retainer. The mountain youth thus left his mother and his native woods for a different life, becoming in after years a great soldier. He is a favorite with little children, who greatly admire his fortitude and strength. He is shown in our illustration forcing open with his hands the mouth of a great bear (Fig. 6). The carver, with his usual care for detail, has represented the boy pressing upon his lower lips with his teeth—which are made of a tiny bit of ivory—in the strenuous effort he is making.

Legendary beings with divine power were among those adopted from Chinese mythology by the Japanese. In the same way, probably, as the Greeks thought of Aeolus with the winds in a bag, the Chinese and Japanese imagined a fierce-looking individual with a huge bag over his head, the ends of which he held tight or loosened, according to whether or not he wanted to cause a gale (Fig. 4). Frazer's interesting theory (explained at length in *The Golden Bough*) is that in early times men thought they could influence the elements by sympathetic magic (that is, by imitating wind and rain, and so forth, they could cause these phenomena to appear), and later, when they gradually learned their impotence, they ascribed the same power to superhuman beings. Another illustration is the thunder-god, who causes thunder by pounding sometimes on a single large drum, and sometimes on a whole series of small drums, attached to sticks centred on a hub, the arrangement looking something like a wheel. Many *netsuké* show the thunder-god peering down through a hole in the clouds; one of them, made of pottery, shows him in the usual manner as a dark-skinned demon-like figure, looking down through blue storm-clouds, his drum, with blue and green designs on it, slung over his back. These subjects, of the wind- and thunder-gods, had long been used by artists of the older schools, especially by Kano painters, and from this source Ukiyo-é artists derived their conception of them.



BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS: 14—A DANCER IN THE RÔLE OF SAMBASO. IVORY. BY GENRYOSAI, 18TH-19TH CENTURY. 15—SHOKI, THE DEMON-QUELLER, LOOKING DOWN A WELL AFTER A DEMON WHO HAS CLIMBED DOWN THE ROPE TO HIDE. THE FIGURE OF THE DEMON SERVES AS AN *ojimé*. IVORY. BY RYUO, 18TH-19TH CENTURY. 16—TWO CHINESE SAGES PLAYING CHESS INSIDE A HALF-OPENED ORANGE. IVORY. 19TH CENTURY. 17—DARUMA STANDING ON A REED. IVORY. 18TH CENTURY. 18—TORTOISE SWIMMING AMONG LOTUS LEAVES. IVORY; TORTOISE, TORTOISE-SHELL. 18TH CENTURY. 19—NITTA-NO-SHIRO TADATSUNÉ ASTRIDE OF THE WILD BOAR. IVORY. BY MITSUCHIKA, 19TH CENTURY. 20—TWO WRESTLERS AND THE REFEREE. IVORY. BY GENRYOSAI, 18TH-19TH CENTURY. 21—ONO-NO-TOFU ON THE BACK OF A FROG. IVORY SEAL. 18TH CENTURY. 22—A DRAGON ISSUING FROM AN ASH-BOWL ON A SMOKER'S TRAY. IVORY SEAL BLANK. BY HO RYOMIN. 19TH CENTURY. 23—SUN K'ANG (SON KO) READING A BOOK. IVORY. BY FUKENSAI SEKIJU, 18TH CENTURY. 24—A FOX WITH THE SACRED JEWEL. IVORY. 19TH CENTURY.

Thus, one print shows a beauty fearfully holding her hands to her ears, while above in the clouds the thunder-god is pounding his drums. A lacquer artist decorated an *inro* with pictures of two divinities, one on each side; his design he took from an earlier one by a Kano artist of the late seventeenth century, to whom he gives credit in an inscription.

Strange creatures from the forest of Chinese and Japanese folk-lore occur often among *netsuké*. There is the Kappa, who looks something like a turtle except that he has longer arms and legs, no tail, and a hole on the top of his head, filled with a fluid necessary to his vitality. These beings haunt the streams and are rather malicious, though, on the other hand, they are so polite as often to lose their power to harm by bowing low in answer to a similar salutation from a human being, thus allowing the fluid so necessary to them to flow away. They especially like cucumbers, which they are in the habit of stealing. One example shows a Kappa with no less than five of these vegetables, one of which he is cutting, using a small wooden table and a kitchen knife, probably acquired by theft. This specimen illustrates the clever use of materials other than the basic one as inlay: thus, while the Kappa's body is made of wood, his back is of tortoise-shell, his eyes and the fluid in his head, of ivory, and one of the cucumbers, of pottery, covered with a green glaze. Another example (Fig. 13), also of wood, shows a Kappa caught in an eel-trap, which, though of a different shape, works by the same principle as the lobster-pots of American fishermen. The Kappa, cleverly made of pottery, his body green, his eyes yellow, his tongue red, and the fluid in his head blue, looks out from a hole in the cage.

The fox, the badger, and the cat are all credited in folk-lore with miraculous powers. The fox, being the messenger of the god of prosperity, is often associated with the Jewel, the Buddhist emblem of abundance (Fig. 24). The fox may transform himself into a human being and work magic for the good or ill of men. A wooden *netsuké* representing a fox holding a kind of drum which was beaten in a certain way not by sticks, but by the fingers, bears allusion to a legend woven around the historical figures of Yoshitsuné, of whom we have already heard (see above, page 17), his lover and mistress, Shizuka, and his faithful follower, Tadanobu. Once when outlawed by Yoritomo, Yoshitsuné and Tadanobu were in hiding on the plains of Yoshino. Shizuka, hunting for Yoshitsuné, was escorted thither by a man whom she took to be Tadanobu. Shizuka was carrying a drum of the kind already described which had been given her by Yoshitsuné. Now it so happened that the son of the fox whose skin had been used to cover it had seen Shizuka and, taking the form of Tadanobu, conducted her to Yoshitsuné, hoping to be rewarded by the gift of the drum—as indeed he was. In gratitude, he used his magic power to foretell an attack by some monks, and while Yoshitsuné and Shizuka fled away, the real Tadanobu dressed in the clothes of his master, held back the attacking party.

In connection with a cat-mask, a legend dealing with this same power of transformation in the case of a cat was mentioned above. A very amusing story about a different sort of transformation, told by Hearn in *Japanese Fairy Tales*, concerns a badger—or a teakettle: it would be hard to say which. An old priest fond of buying oddities once found in a junk shop a bronze teakettle which took his fancy. He returned proud and happy to the temple with his purchase and set it on a box where it could be admired. Having fallen asleep, however, he was awakened by the excited talking of the novices in the room, and roundly scolded them for disturbing him at his meditations. "Your teakettle is bewitched: it was dancing around with furry legs and a tail, just like a badger." "Nonsense," said the priest, "there it is on its box, just as quiet as any other

teakettle. To your studies, and pray to be preserved from the perils of illusion." But that very night, when the priest filled the kettle and set it on the fire to boil some water for his tea, a strange thing happened. The kettle hopped off the fire and jumped around the room. "Well, it is bewitched, after all," said the priest. "Nay, master," replied a novice, "see where it rests on its box, just as quiet as any other teakettle." And the priest saw that what he said was true. "Most reverend sir," continued the novice, "let us all pray to be preserved from the perils of illusion." The priest at the first opportunity sold the kettle to a tinker, who found a way to make good use of its strange powers. He travelled around the country charging admission to the people to see the accomplished teakettle (Fig. 9), with its badger head, and furry tail and legs, dance and sing and walk the tight rope. Finally, when he was old and rich, the tinker returned the teakettle, which now seemed to have lost its badger nature, to the temple, where it was kept as a treasure.

Classic subjects are treated both in seriousness and in the spirit of caricature, though the elaborate "parody-picture" prints have no parallel among *netsuké*. The classic subjects jealously guarded for centuries as a sacred tradition by hereditary painters, though new life was at different times infused into their expression, gradually became stereotyped and lost the power of inspiration. Then came the Ukiyo-é painter and craftsman; nothing was sacred to him and he seized upon the stock-in-trade of all the old schools to illustrate his contemporary world. Thus, some of the subjects of the *netsuké* can be traced back through a long line of Japanese artists to China, where their source eludes us, lost in the mists of time. We have already seen (page 16) that representations of Hsi Wang-mu, the Royal Western Mother, occur in Chinese art as early as the second century A. D., and are repeated, after a break (doubtless many examples have been lost), by Japanese artists of the Kano school, to find still later illustration in *netsuké*. Another classic Chinese subject is the story of Sun K'ang (Son Ko) of the fourth century A. D. who is also a favorite of Japanese painters of the Kano school. This determined lover of knowledge in his youth was so poor that he could not even have candles to study by at night and was accustomed on winter evenings to use the light reflected from the snow. Our *netsuké* (Fig. 23), cleverly made of ivory, succeeds well in creating the illusion of snow piled up on the roof of the little dwelling and on the branches of the tree behind it. The presentation here is very like that in the older paintings. For instance, a screen by a Kano painter in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, shows ten classic allusions dealing with snow, among which this is one. The only difference seems to be that the *netsuké*-carver has substituted a pine tree for the traditional bamboo. It may be noticed that the scholar, although the story naturally pictures him in these straightened circumstances in youth, is here shown as an old man with a beard, well enough off to have a servant. It would be hard, I think, to find a specimen of the *netsuké*-carver's skill surpassing this one, where the tiniest details, though all contributory to the general effect, are one and all treated with infinite care: the round window in the wall, the books, the writing brushes in their holder, the ink-slab on the tiny table and the shoes of the lover of learning awaiting him, as is the Eastern custom, on the steps.

The herdboy on an ox was a favorite theme with Chinese painters, especially with those influenced by a certain Buddhist sect, whose founder is discussed in the next paragraph but one, and several well-known examples exist. The name of this sect means "meditation," and the follower of its doctrines sought salvation through the control of his own heart and through communion with nature. His search for his soul is compared to that of the herdboy for his charge, much in the same manner as Christ spoke of souls as sheep. After

a long search he comes back riding the submissive animal and playing on his flute, feeling in harmony with all things. This subject is the theme not only of Chinese paintings but also of early Japanese idealistic pictures and of paintings by artists of the Kano school, both early and late; it occurs also in modern art, as well in paintings as in *netsuké*. The representation may, of course, be accepted as a rural scene and nothing more.

Horses were one of the earliest subjects treated in Chinese painting, and pictures of them are mentioned in literature of a time from which no pictorial specimens have been preserved. Since then they have been treated in various ways by Chinese and Japanese painters of different schools. Great men have been able to infuse such life into their pictures that legends like the following have arisen. The horse painted by a famous Japanese artist of the ninth century is said to have broken loose at night from the picture, and, prancing over the rice-fields, to have spoiled the villagers' crops. His ravages were stopped only when the artist painted a halter on the too vivacious product of his brain. The bold black outlines used by Kano painters are well-adapted to this subject, and the *inro* here illustrated (Fig. 1), which reproduces in lacquer a design by the Kano artist Eisen, well illustrates their effectiveness.

Daruma, the venerable Buddhist teacher and sage, is regularly accorded humorous treatment. The twenty-eighth Indian Buddhist patriarch at a time when Buddhism was dying out in India and spreading fast in China, he came to the latter country in A. D. 520, transferring thither both the patriarchate and the sacred begging bowl of the historic Buddha. Ideal portraits of him designed to bring out the austerity of his character and the clearness of his mind, were made in China during the Sung period (A. D. 960-1280) and later by the followers of the sect which he founded. These were serious pictures, seeking to express or to suggest in a single painting the basic doctrines of the teacher and the sect. One such portrait by an artist whose studio name, "Gateway-without-doors," is suggestive of the ideal of mental freedom characteristic of this sect, is reproduced in *Buddhist Art*, by Anesaki. In Japan, also, during the Ashikaga period, when the doctrines built upon the teachings of this Buddhist saint were predominant, portraits of a like nature were painted. After a lapse of time, during which he may have been occasionally depicted, Daruma reappears in *Ukiyo-é*, where he is a favorite subject for parody or caricature. Thus many prints show, with slight variations, a woman in a red robe, like that of the monk, crossing water on a reed, in the manner in which, according to legend, he came over the Indian Ocean to China. One print shows the old ascetic hanging on the wall, so interested in a fashionable beauty reading a letter nearby that he has completely forgotten his meditations and is leaning way out of the picture to see her. Occasionally, the *netsuké*-carver gives us a serious representation (Fig. 17). The most common treatment in *netsuké*, however, bears allusion to the story that this Buddhist saint spent nine years in unbroken meditation: he is therefore represented without any legs, as if to corroborate the biological truth that unused appendages and organs tend to disappear. He may even yawn and stretch: such is the use to which historical and classic material was put!

One could, perhaps go on indefinitely cataloguing subjects, for the themes used seem to be endless. The general character, however, is the same throughout. The themes, whether they be genre, theatrical, historical, legendary, or classic, or all in one, are treated with cleverness and skill, and are designed to interest and amuse; and a like treatment of the material is noticeable. Thus, these carvings of wood, ivory, and so forth, betray their origin in the spirit of the *Ukiyo*, that strange, restless world produced in Japan in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, by the peculiar restraints and conditions imposed upon the people by the strongly organized military power of the Tokugawa rulers.

REVIEWS

THE GENTLE ART OF FAKING. BY RICCARDO NOBILI. 8°, 318 PP., 31 ILLUSTRATIONS. PHILADELPHIA, J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO., 1922.

Signor Nobili's handsomely made book offers considerably more than the title promises. Besides a full account of art forgeries, past and present, it furnishes a vivid and charming review of the whole history of art collecting in the Western world. Collecting seems to be always a symptom of artistic decadence. Art is public in its great periods. The great collecting nation of antiquity was not Greece but Rome, which produced her Marechal Soult, her forgers, her parvenu amateurs, her sycophant critics and dealers, her remnant of real connoisseurs quite after the fashion of New York today. Unquestionably, though Signor Nobili fails to mention the fact, Alexandria was a collecting city. The Greeks who assembled the great library, made grammars and commentaries, of course collected works of art. Indeed we may reasonably surmise that the general situation in second-century, B. C., Alexandria was quite comparable to that of eighteenth-century Paris, and that its influence was dominating throughout the civilized world of the time.

Between the fall of Rome and the faint dawn of the Renaissance intervene nearly nine centuries without individual collecting, though most of the rich abbeys may be considered as corporate collectors *de facto*. But Oliver Forzetta of Treviso, who flourished about 1335, seems to be the first Renaissance collector, hence the ancestor of the entire modern clan. A younger contemporary of Giotto, "we know that in the above year of 1335 he came to Venice to buy several pieces for his collection, manuscripts of the works of Seneca, Ovid, Sallust, Cicero, Titus Livius, etc., goldsmiths' work, fifty medals that had been promised him by a certain Simon, crystals, bronzes, four statues in marble, others representing lions, horses, nude figures, etc." Plainly Forzetta was the discursive sort of amateur of whom, as against the specialist, Signor Nobili approves. We modern collectors need feel no shame for our first ancestor.

Since the fourteenth century, collecting has steadily increased with a certain lowering of the competence of the average collector. Forgery began even with the Renaissance, but has been vastly accelerated in recent times through the appearance of many amateurs of limited taste while of unlimited wealth, the shortage of available works of art, and the machinations of intelligent swindlers.

Signor Nobili, who has been behind the scenes with the great dealers, gives an account as thorough as interesting of honest imitations sold fraudulently for originals, of intentional forgeries, and of revamped and improved originals. Of the three classes the overt forgery is on the whole the least dangerous, for it will always be inferior in quality to the thing it simulates. But the honest imitation, as in the case of the Florentine sculptor Bastianini, may be of excellent quality, while the revamped object will be, like the curate's egg, entirely good and persuasive in carefully chosen spots. Let me illustrate.

The Sienese imitations of Joni were never made to deceive. They did, as a fact, deceive the elect, owing partly to the ignorance, partly to the guile, of the dealers. Fifteen years ago, in the small shops of Florence, these wares were offered as old or new according to the dealer's estimate of the customer's knowledge. Today, from familiarity, Joni's imitations are quite harmless, which points Signor Nobili's hint that the finished collector must study imitations and forgeries almost as carefully as originals.

The first old master I bought, an alluringly mellow profile of a Doge, was wrong, and it was one of the best purchases I ever made. And after more than twenty years of collecting, only recently, I confidently bought a skilfully revamped primitive. The incident is worth recounting, for it illustrates in small the insidious nature of "improved" originals. The picture was a little enthroned Madonna of Giottesque type. The figures at the side of the throne were old, the Madonna's head palpably repainted in a better style. I bought the panel expecting to find the Madonna's original head beneath the repaint. But there was no head there, only old gold ground. Apparently the gable top of the panel had been injured and a new gable made from another old panel had been spliced on to serve as a specious ground for the new head. I had docilely drawn all the inferences the forger intended me to draw. The moral is of course that the sides of old panels should be inspected as carefully as the backs and fronts.

No collector can read this book without profit. It is delightfully done, and so complete that I note no omissions except that of the notorious Venetian imitators, Pietro della Vecchia and Sebastiano Ricci. Numerous cuts show the excellence of the work of imitators and forgers up to today, thus asserting vividly the perils of modern amateurism. The only safeguards are caution, experience, and taste. Having these abundantly, the collector will not often be fooled, and will learn much from his occasional mishaps. In collecting, as in war, the balance between the offensive and defensive is never permanently upset, but the moment emphatically calls for such strengthening of the defensive as Signor Nobili's charming book affords.

Frank Jewett Mather

THE PLAY OF SIBYL CASSANDRA. BY GEORGIANA GODDARD KING. BRYN MAWR NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS, II. 12°. BRYN MAWR, BRYN MAWR COLLEGE, 1921.

The interrelation of art and literature at different periods in the world's history has been much discussed in a general way during recent years, but very little that is definite and tangible has as yet been achieved in this field of investigation. Miss King's admirable little monograph is therefore a welcome contribution, especially in its concrete results, to one of the most important phases of the subject, the connection between art and drama in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Her essential purpose is an interpretation of the rather enigmatical *Play (Auto) of the Sibyl Cassandra* by the Portuguese dramatist of the early sixteenth century, Gil Vicente, who belongs also to Spain because the great majority of his dramatic pieces are written, in whole or in part, in Castilian; but, without any serious discursiveness, she has lightly and pleasantly woven into her essay an imposing array of significant and erudite information on the place of the Prophets and Sibyls in ritual, literature, painting, and sculpture.

According to the pastoral and even popular tone that Gil Vicente is prone to give to his compositions, he represents the Sibyl Cassandra as a shepherdess refusing marriage with the shepherd Solomon (!) despite the exhortations of her uncles, Moses, Abraham, and Isaiah, and her aunts, the Persian, Erythraean, and Cimmerian Sibyls; the reason for Cassandra's obduracy is her impracticable desire to be the virgin of whom through inspiration she knows that the Christian God will be born. With a mass of cogent evidence Miss King explains the presence of Solomon by reference to the frequent mediæval identification of Cassandra, who was occasionally treated as one of the Sibyls, with the Queen of Sheba, and she enumerates a series of examples from the sculpture of the Middle Ages in which the Wise Man, Solomon, and the Wise Woman, a vague confusion

of the Sibyl and the Queen of Sheba, stand side by side. The appearance of the other Sibyls and the worthies of the Old Testament in Vicente's drama she refers to that general mediæval tradition, especially significant in the Mystery Plays, according to which the Sibyls were conceived as endowed with a power of Christian vaticination equivalent to that of the Prophets. In the course of her exegesis she adds many data to our knowledge of the evolution of the Mystery Play from the ecclesiastical liturgies, particularly in her discussion of the participation, in the Christmas services, of a person acting the rôle of a Sibyl as harbinger of the Last Judgment; and her general treatment of the Sibyls in art and literature at the end of the monograph provides a useful and well-chosen compendium. The most interesting parallel to the *Auto* that she adduces is the Roumanian folk-tale, based upon a Greek prototype, which represents a Sibyl, here the sister of Solomon, as clinging to the virginal state for fifty years in the hope that Christ might be born from her. All this tradition and material, of course, Gil Vicente has sifted and combined into a work of original merit, by a sprightly invention all his own, and yet the problem of the play's meaning is difficult enough to have justified Miss King in utilizing it as a text for a dissertation that will prove valuable not only to literary scholars but also to students of Christian iconography.

She has also made it hard for a reviewer to perform his conventional duty of picking some flaws. Doubtless Vicente's Prophets and Sibyls wore the sumptuous theatrical costumes upon which she lays so much stress in her argument, but she is too ready to state their existence as a fact when it seems, in reality, only to be inferred from similar interludes and sculptured or painted groups. Whatever the faults of Lycophron, to whose *Alexandra* she alludes in examining the ancient conception of the Sibyls, his fame or at least notoriety demands a more adequate description than "one Lycophron of Chalkis, a witless poet of the end of the third century;" in any case, "witless" is the last adjective that should be applied to the oversubtle Lycophron, and he was active not at the end but at the beginning of the third century B. C. One of the most helpful features of these *Bryn Mawr Notes and Monographs* is the marginal employment of captions summarizing the substance of the paragraphs; but, evidently in an effort to break away from the lifeless diction of ordinary scholarship, Miss King sometimes indulges in picturesque headings that perplex rather than aid the reader. It is pleasant, however, to have her err in this direction when here and there she vouchsafes in the margin additional information. The same desire for less stilted language occasionally results in obscurity, as when, on page 37, it is not clear whether the Sibyl or the Queen of Sheba is smiling at Solomon, or on page 44, one cannot readily see to which "legend in learned literature" Gil Vicente may have been indebted. Yet such infinitesimal defects are the negligible vices of a great virtue, for like Ruskin, though her hand is less heavy, Miss King has really achieved an expository style that delights as well as instructs. In her earlier and much longer monograph, *The Way of St. James*, the rambling manner is perhaps somewhat exaggerated; in the present essay sound learning and charm of presentation are in pleasing balance.

Chandler R. Post

THE ÆSTHETIC BASIS OF GREEK ART OF THE FIFTH AND FOURTH CENTURIES B. C. BY RHYS CARPENTER. BRYN MAWR NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS, I. 263 PP. BRYN MAWR, BRYN MAWR COLLEGE; NEW YORK, LONGMANS, GREEN & CO., 1921.

The new series of *Bryn Mawr Notes and Monographs* starts its existence admirably with this little volume. The format is the same as that employed by the Hispanic Society, the Museum of the American Indian of New York, and the American Numismatic Society,

which means that the book is of handy size, and easy to carry in the pocket. For this reason, it will be a useful adjunct to the equipment of the studious traveller in classic lands, and form a ready book of reference and guidance for the serious student, who too often goes to Greece oversupplied with the so-called "scientific" study of Greek art, and ill equipped with true æsthetic principles. It is these principles which this book seeks to furnish. It presupposes a certain amount of knowledge of the history of Greek art, and the principles of archæology, and devotes itself entirely to a discussion of the philosophy of æsthetics as applied to art, and particularly to the art of Greece.

Professor Carpenter is admirably fitted to do this work. He is not only an archæologist, and a teacher of archæology, but a poet of no mean capacity and a finished master in the use of his native tongue. It is highly proper that a book on æsthetics should be written in a beautiful style; for a book on such a subject, couched in a slovenly manner, would for that very reason defeat the purpose for which it was intended.

There are many reviews of this book, some of which are highly complimentary, others of which seem to "damn with faint praise;" but, for my own part, I find scarcely a thing to criticise. The prevailing thought that occurred to me in reading the book, with the possible exception of Chapter III, which deals with the æsthetics of Greek sculpture, is that the writer deals with much more than Greek art and often in a manner that makes the reader forget that after all the book is directly concerned with the art of Greece primarily. This is particularly the case with the last chapter, which concerns architecture, where Professor Carpenter involves the reader with discussions of Gothic and Baroque as well as Greek.

Extremely illuminating and suggestive is the discussion of the theory of dimensions that Professor Carpenter lays great stress upon in his discussion of sculpture and architecture; I especially agree with the point made that Greek architecture had no particular conception of the enclosure of space.

For the advanced student, this book cannot be too highly recommended. It is not, however, a book that can be put with advantage in the hands of a beginner; but in its field, it is not too much to say that it is one of the best, if not actually the best book in English on æsthetics as applied to Greek art.

Stephen B. Luce

THE PALACE OF MINOS, A COMPARATIVE ACCOUNT OF THE SUCCESSIVE STAGES OF THE EARLY CRETAN CIVILIZATION AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE DISCOVERIES AT KNOSSOS. VOLUME I: THE NEOLITHIC AND EARLY AND MIDDLE MINOAN AGES. BY SIR ARTHUR EVANS. 542 FIGURES IN THE TEXT, PLAN, TABLES COLORED AND SUPPLEMENTARY PLATES. NEW YORK, MACMILLAN, 1921. \$25.40.

At last, more than twenty years after the discovery of the Knossos palace and ten years after the last extensive campaign on the site, there has appeared the first volume of the publication of these epoch-making excavations. If at first sight the reader is inclined to grumble that the price is prohibitive, that the book is under the size now fairly established for archæological publications, that there is no complete plan of the palace in the first volume, his feeling when he finally lays the book down is nevertheless one of sincere gratitude to the author for the immense service he has rendered. A younger scholar would doubtless have published the work more promptly and in an improved form, but it is nevertheless well that the excavation of the Knossos palace was vouchsafed to so careful an observer and to so ripe a scholar. From the outset the site of Knossos was dug with scrupulous care. The author (p. 683) states that a sieve was constantly at work to salvage

clay-sealings, the most likely of all small objects to elude the excavator's care. The excavation was probably the first of its size at which the sound of the sieve steadily accompanied the sound of the pick, although the British excavators at Melos had already shown what slow and careful digging could deduce from a prehistoric site. Not only, however, are small objects saved from the dump, but great skill is shown in observing stratigraphic evidence, and this skill has increased during the years that have elapsed since the excavation began. Supplementary tests of floor-levels have been made of recent years under the direction of the architect, Mr. Doll, with the result that some of the earlier conclusions have been altered. The large knotted pithoi (p. 231), for example, in the East Magazines are now assigned to an earlier period. More important, the Twelfth-Dynasty Egyptian diorite monument from below the central court is now associated with M M II pottery.

The volume before us is the first of three. The general arrangement is chronological and volume I brings the history of Knossos down to the end of the M M III period. As the subtitle of the book suggests, the results of other Cretan excavations are restated here where they supplement the results obtained at Knossos. The book, therefore, becomes in some measure a history of the Cretan civilization. The material is arranged according to the nine periods into which the author at the outset divides the Cretan bronze age. Such chronological trinities must be, of course, perfectly arbitrary. Yet once established and found convenient, they become crystallized and nearly immutable. The author seems occasionally to suffer discomfort from his chronological system, but it is easier to subdivide than to alter. The student thus has now to take account of a Middle Minoan II *a* and a Middle Minoan II *b* style of vase-painting. The Meyer scheme of Egyptian chronology has been adopted in this volume, so that the dates of the various Minoan periods now harmonize with the system widely accepted by scholars.

Within each period full account is taken of all the various activities with which the early Cretan was concerned. His advance in commerce, religion, writing, architecture, painting, sculpture, and the ceramic and minor arts is described in the light of all the evidence forthcoming from Knossos and elsewhere. The book is thus a mine of information, and it is difficult to think of a department of human knowledge the historian of which will not be obliged to consult it. Whether the student is interested in drainage systems or in pictographic scripts, in bull-grappling or mural painting, he will find the author's discussion exhaustive and his judgment sound. In fact his treatment of any one of these subjects would make of itself a book of which a scholar might be proud.

Much of this great mass of material has been published before in the *Annals of the British School at Athens*, in *Scripta Minoa*, and in *The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos*. But, on the other hand, much is absolutely new. The exploration of the shrine on Mt. Juktas, of the hypogaea under the south porch of the palace have never been published before. The inscribed ladle from Trullos (p. 625), the fresco of the saffron-gatherer (p. 264), the seal from Platanos (p. 198), the bronze blade recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum (p. 718) will be new to most archaeologists.

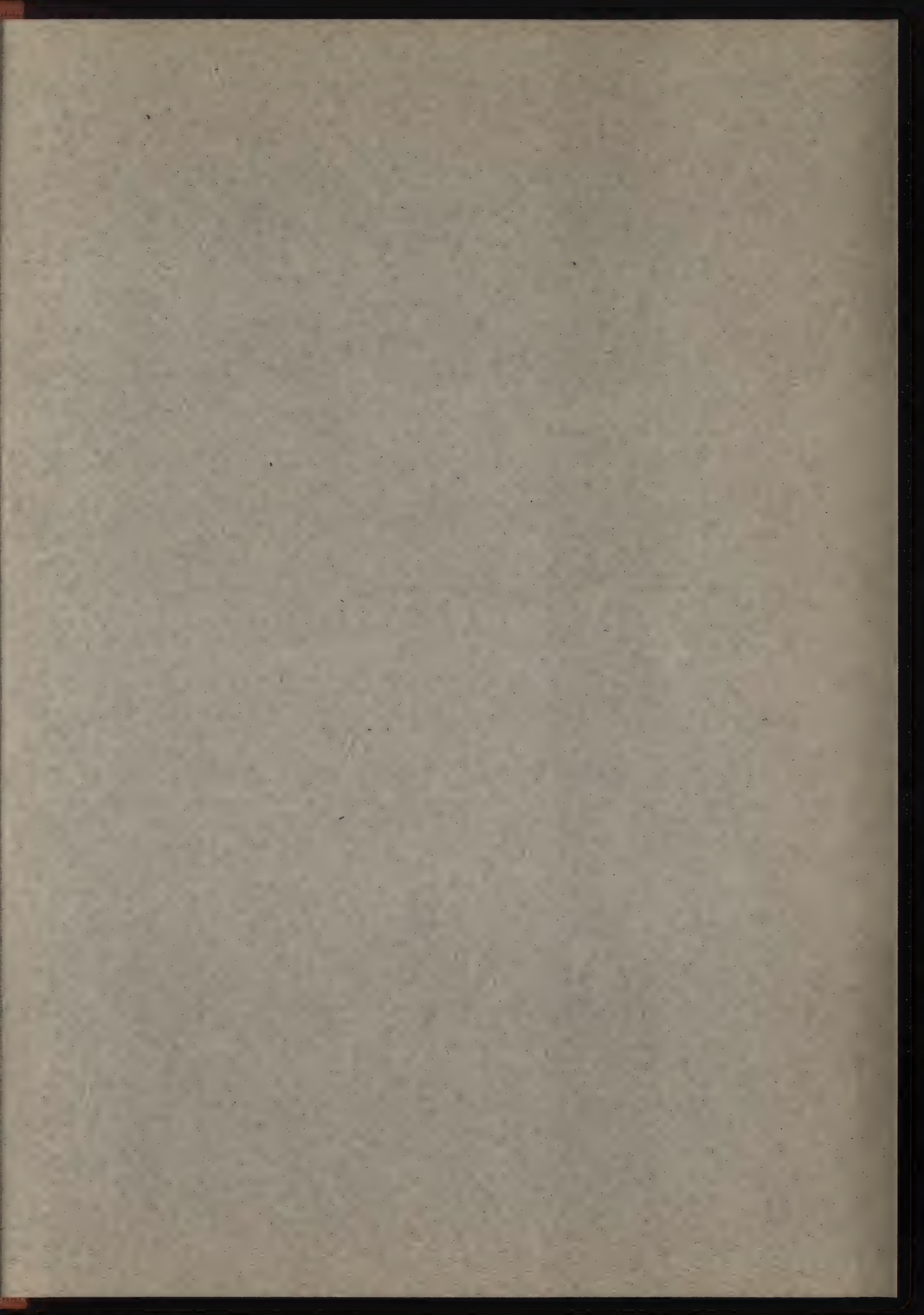
The author's interpretation of the purpose to which the various rooms of the palace were devoted has in several instances been changed since the publication of the preliminary reports in the *Annals of the British School at Athens*. The "Room of the Olive Press" is now the "Room of the Stone Spout." The "School Room," in the later history of the palace, at least, is a room for the use of workmen. The interpretation of the architectural evidence of the palace has gained greatly from the experience of Mr. Doll. In some cases, new interpretations seem to have been accepted only with difficulty, and it is hard to tell

whether or no the author has entirely given up the older and more imaginative explanation. Thus (p. 236) he writes: "The deep-walled cells of the early keep described above, though they very probably served as dungeons, may also be regarded as typical on a larger scale of methods of storage."

To some of the many conclusions drawn from this wealth of material it is, of course, difficult not to take exception. The "formidable depth" of the neolithic deposit under the central court is really not so formidable when one thinks, for example, that British officers in Egypt were wont to pay three shillings damage for expropriation of an Arab house. The rebuilding of a mud and wattle house must have been at most the work of a day or so. The early Cretans probably preferred to build on the platform of the old house as present-day Arabs habitually level instead of excavate in rebuilding their homes. The author's terminology may sometimes be criticized. A "baetyl" has been shown (*American Journal of Archaeology*, 1903, pp. 198-208) to be a live stone, a λίθος ἔμφυχος, whereas the term is used in this book as equivalent to "cippus." And lastly, if one may be so bold, the English, to an American ear, has an unduly solemn sound. "Defective character of the sepulchral evidence" is a strange way to convey the idea that "no graves were found." And "E M I" and "M M II" make extraordinary nouns. But, in view of the immense service this great scholar has rendered, and in view too of his very generous attitude toward younger scholars, such criticisms seem petty indeed. It is to be earnestly hoped that the other volumes of the work will appear shortly.

Edith Hall Dohan





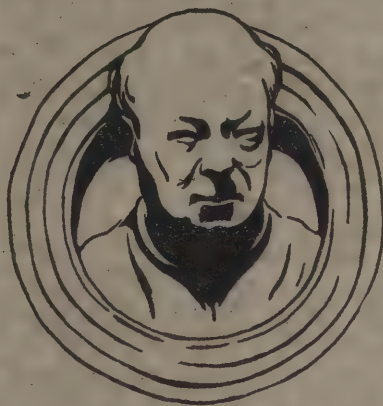
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TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETING

The twelfth annual meeting of the College Art Association of America will be held at the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, on Friday and Saturday, April 6 and 7, 1923. In addition to special facilities for seeing the unique public museums of Boston and vicinity, members will have an opportunity to visit private collections, including Fenway Court, the famous collection of Mrs. John L. Gardner. All correspondence in regard to the program or other details of the meeting should be addressed to

DAVID M. ROBINSON, PRESIDENT

COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

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FLORENCE, BARGELLO: THE TWO SERVANTS FROM THE BRONZE COMPETITIVE PANEL BY Ghiberti

Brunelleschi in Competition with Ghiberti

BY FERN RUSK SHAPLEY

PHOTOGRAPHS BY CLARENCE KENNEDY

It would not be a very gross exaggeration to say that Ghiberti's little competitive panel in the Bargello has been of more interest to historians of Renaissance art than have his great bronze doors themselves. For there beside it hangs the companion relief by his rival Brunelleschi. Because of their immediate juxtaposition the two reliefs, composed at the same time and subject to the same requirements of size, shape, border design, depth of relief, material, and purpose, offer a unique opportunity to observe the infinity of great and slight differences in the treatment of the same theme by different hands and to discover the subtler, as well as the more striking, peculiarities of the artists' styles. The decision of the judges in 1403 is, furthermore, an instructive commentary on Florentine taste at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Without any stretch of the imagination, the student of today can review the case entire, as far as Ghiberti and Brunelleschi are concerned, and see the significance of the judgment rendered.

At first sight, it must be confessed, the choice between the two seems comparatively easy. For what is first grasped, the composition (Pl. XII), is far more distinguished in Ghiberti's panel, with its less confusing, more architectural, upright lines, and its greater harmony between figures and setting. A little further familiarity, however, makes the recorded difficulty of the original judges intelligible. Brunelleschi's relief reveals, indeed, unexpected richness of motive and liveliness of action; also it seems more finished and mature than Ghiberti's. But these are impressions, again, that we get rather from the general arrangement and effect of the compositions than from any thoroughgoing examination of the details; ordinarily, in fact, we are unable to study the details, so inadequate are the reproductions upon which we have to depend.

For these reasons, the readers of *The Art Bulletin* will welcome the beautiful heliotypes of particular parts of the competitive reliefs which have been produced from unique negatives carefully made for the purpose by Mr. Clarence Kennedy. Mr. Kennedy's photography is a revelation of what can be accomplished by a competent photographer who has in addition the background of an archæological and artistic training. It is not only that he photographs details but that he is also at pains to choose those details which, apart from their own artistic merit, are most representative and significant. He takes a piece of sculpture, even though it be a relief as these rival panels, from various angles, and thus he succeeds in actually conveying on the flat surface of the photographs what an observant eye would get when looking at the three-dimensional original itself, namely, a series of images from those chosen vantage points which, whether for the contours, the foreshortening, the proportions, or other bodily quality they reveal, are specially characteristic of the sculpture under consideration. Above all, he is extremely solicitous about the lighting and aims to bring out the finest gradations of modelling; the justly regulated play of light and shade over the surface makes the photographs better for certain lines of study than are the originals when seen, as they regularly are, under a somewhat fortuitous, less favorable illumination.

In the case of the competitive reliefs we may compare from our plates certain details more conveniently than in the Bargello itself. For instance, we have here together on one plate (Pl. XIII) the head and arms of Abraham from each relief with no appreciable deviation in scale from the originals. This juxtaposition seems to bring into a single field of vision the Classical and the Gothic worlds. Zeus, as the Periclean Greeks conceived him, powerful and irresistible, but quiet and self-contained, is matched against the biblical patriarch of the Middle Ages, nervous and fiery, acting upon the impulse of the moment. In Ghiberti's Abraham the great masses of hair and beard, the broad, full waves of drapery, the steady, sure gaze of eye and movement of arm suggest the mighty ocean with its continuous surge and roll of billows. In Brunelleschi's Abraham the spiral locks, the sharply overlapping drapery, the intensity of expression, and the darting thrust of arms suggest the swirling whirlpool.

One could go further and say that this great contrast, a contrast which is intrinsic to the art of the early Renaissance, is present even in Ghiberti's Abraham. The flying corner of his mantle would certainly indicate hurried movement were not the rest of his drapery (Pl. XV) arranged in quiet, elegant folds. Artistically explicable the waving corner becomes by a glance at the whole relief (Pl. XII). It serves to emphasize the line of action of Abraham's menacing arm, and to point like a tongue of flame toward the absolved sacrificial ram. It serves with the heavy drapery that hangs down from the other shoulder to square up the silhouette of the curving figure, and, by its fading away into the background, to give the figure greater salience: in these respects it counteracts its own Gothic nature. It serves between the angel and the ram to occupy partially an otherwise sensible lacuna and adds concessively a touch of bravura. Naturalistically explicable the waving corner is not, unless we imagine that despite the apparent calm elsewhere it has been caught up by a passing breeze.

No such fortuitous passing breeze accounts for the streaming drapery in Brunelleschi's panel. Here all of Abraham's robes are thrown back violently as he rushes forward; we can almost hear them snap behind him (Pl. XII). And the angel, flying in from the opposite direction, has its drapery swept back toward the other side of the panel (Pl. XIV). So we have the effect of a whirlpool created here in a more literal fashion: the three arms seem to be sucked into the center, marked by Isaac's head, while the ends of drapery and the angel's other hand and wings are flung outward by the centrifugal force at the periphery.

Brunelleschi revels in action. He could not be content with merely preparing the stage, having things ready to happen; they must happen. Abraham is actually plunging the knife into Isaac's throat. Isaac struggles, screams out in agony, and assumes a look of despair, as if in the very act of expiring. The angel dares not wait to convince Abraham with words; his only hope of saving Isaac lies in grasping the arm of the desperate father and halting him instantly. In the next moment Abraham would be thrown backward were it not that his own rush forward, added to the heavy bulk of his body, is sufficient to equalize the impact of the angel.

Ghiberti, less interested in rapid action, gives each figure a pose it could retain independently of the others, just as Classical architecture has no need of Gothic thrust supports. Here all preparations have been made for action (Pl. XV). Abraham feels no indecision, but he is slower and more deliberate, so that the angel, coming forward and hovering over the scene, needs but to indicate the ram with one graceful hand, while he holds his drapery in place with the other. Isaac does not cry out and struggle; he shrinks back in surprise and turns an innocent, inquiring look toward his father.

The relation of both sculptors to the antique has been frequently discussed.



FLORENCE, BARGELLO: SACRIFICE OF ISAAC, BRONZE COMPETITIVE
PANEL BY BRUNELLESCHI



FLORENCE, BARGELLO: SACRIFICE OF ISAAC, BRONZE COMPETITIVE
PANEL BY Ghiberti



FLORENCE, BARGELLO: DETAILS FROM THE BRONZE COMPETITIVE PANELS BY BRUNELLESCHI (above) AND Ghiberti (below)

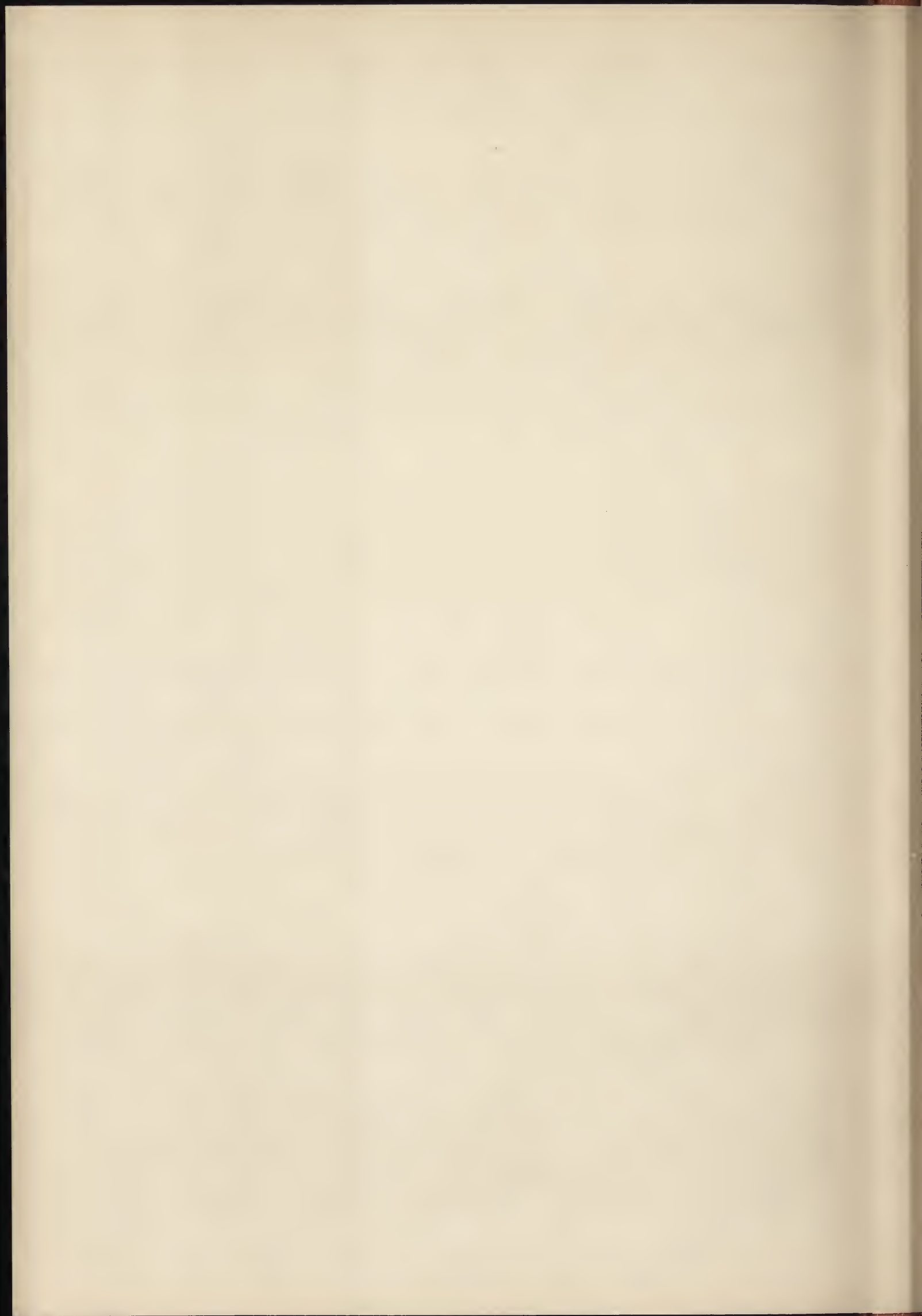


FLORENCE, BARGELLO: THE ANGEL FROM THE BRONZE COMPETITIVE PANEL BY BRUNELLESCHI





FLORENCE, BARGELLO: ABRAHAM AND ISAAC FROM THE BRONZE COMPETITIVE PANEL BY Ghiberti



Brunelleschi copied the spinario for one of his servants, an apoxyomenos, apparently, for the other; his head of Isaac might have been suggested by some head on Trajan's column, and his ram stands in a conventional antique pose, rubbing its head with its hoof. But in spite of his objective imitation of the antique in these particulars, Brunelleschi has much less of the Classic spirit than has Ghiberti.

Schlosser, indeed (Austrian *Jahrbuch*, 1904, p. 151), alleges a certain similarity between Ghiberti's Isaac and a colossal torso of a satyr now in the Uffizi which according to an old and persistent, though not absolutely reliable, tradition belonged to Ghiberti's collection. Our plates (XV and XVI) are excellent for studying the Isaac, and the analogy, like so many others, vanishes upon closer acquaintance: the torso (reproduced on *Tafel* 29 of the Brunn-Bruckmann series) is a very deeply modelled, superanatomical, Pergamene piece, which the Isaac does not resemble in pose, proportion, or surface, the two having in common, however, a vague suggestion of the Praxitelean. But whether Ghiberti copied or not, and as far as we know he did not, he did approach ancient sculpture more closely through a sensitive refinement of form and contour than Brunelleschi did by catching at externals.

Our reproductions are most satisfactory for showing the artists' peculiarities of modelling. The broad, smooth surfaces in some parts of Brunelleschi's plaque—for example, the angel's sleeves and the mantle over its shoulder—remind us of Giotto. The sense of solidity produced by such treatment is remarkable here as in Giotto. The flesh, too, is worked out in the same manner. See how hard the flesh of Abraham's arm looks; the tendons and veins are indicated with the fewest, simplest lines and changes of surface projection. And a few bold ridges and indentations mark the character of the face. How different is the ever-changing surface of the face and arm of Ghiberti's Abraham! The play of light and shade over the gentle modulations gives the effect of a softness of texture. Our plate showing the full-length group of Abraham and Isaac (Pl. XV) gives a good opportunity for studying Ghiberti's distinction between various materials. Flesh, hair, drapery, boots, rock, firewood—each has its peculiar texture. But with Brunelleschi the distinction is not so clear. Abraham's hands and arms have the hard, metallic look we mentioned above, and the drapery, in spite of the folds, seems of a very hard, stiff material, scarcely distinguishable from the flesh. The angel's hand issues from a metal cylinder instead of from a soft textile. The hair is of the same brittleness. One must recognize, however, that this kind of treatment is in perfect harmony with the spirit of Brunelleschi's panel. No soft-fleshed race would display such irresistible vigor. This is a race of hardened, brawny men of action. No wonder critics propose to see in the figure of the servant at the right (Pl. XVII) a copy of an ancient statue of an athlete and no wonder this same figure seems to presage the soldiers in Michelangelo's Battle of Pisa cartoon. The servant is merely stooping to fill his drinking shell with water; but, suddenly startled by a glimpse of the tragic action so near him, he is shot through by an electric signal that tightens every nerve and muscle. In the next moment he will spring up, dash away his cup, and leap to the ledge above.

This servant's counterpart on the opposite side of the panel is still oblivious to the tragedy. He is, as everyone knows, a copy of the Classical spinario. It is interesting to compare the figure with Ghiberti's Isaac (Pl. XVI). But how different the two are! And neither would ever be mistaken for a Classical piece. Brunelleschi has given the spinario the sweet face of a Gothic angel, with just the suggestion of a smile playing about the lips, and he has clothed the figure in a heavy mantle, that falls in large, beautiful folds. Ghiberti has taken great delight in studying the torso of his Isaac. There is

something here that we do not find in Classical work; there is a greater interest in the minutiae of detail, a less summarized record of the changes wrought in the surface by the bones, muscles, and tendons beneath. The side view of the figure that we have in Pl. XVI is very instructive. It shows the care with which these artists finished their work—they did not send in to the critical judges of the competition a sketch, but a finished work that (apart from a few hasty details, like the foot of the boy behind the donkey in Ghiberti's relief) would stand the closest scrutiny. It illustrates, too, what was said above in regard to the self-sufficiency of the various figures in Ghiberti's plaque. But for the hand of Abraham on the shoulder, the figure of Isaac might almost stand alone as an independent statuette. Mr. Kennedy has shut out the rest of the relief with a curtain so that we may appreciate more fully the exquisite outlines of the body and the appealing expression of the face.

Another interesting comparison is offered by our plate showing Ghiberti's ram and Brunelleschi's donkey's head (Pl. XVIII). Ghiberti's little animal is calm and gentle, with a suggestion of humble obeisance in the slight turn of the head. Brunelleschi's, with the swift, straight lines of neck, head, ears, and leg converging toward a single point, has much of the lithe strength and animation which characterize the human figures of this plaque. And for masterly modelling this is one of the finest details that either panel can offer. One may prefer Ghiberti's more detailed modelling in the case of such a figure as the Abraham or the Isaac, but for the sleek head of a donkey, with its prominently marked skull, one could imagine no better technique than this broad, almost cubistic manner that catches and emphasizes the important planes.

If we would see in the animal head and in the servant stooping down beside it the sculptural accomplishment of Brunelleschi at its best, we may take the group of two servants (Pl. XI) in the other panel as no less representative of Ghiberti's genius. After such colorful work as this, one could be surprised at no limits to which the sculptor might go in pictorial treatment. How elegant and graceful is this beautifully draped figure, and how mysterious and suggestive the face of the other! Ghiberti is here not at the beginning of the Renaissance but at its apogee. His art has become personal, lyric, introspective.¹ The boys—near Ghiberti's own age—look intimately, soulfully into each other's eyes. They seem Giorgionesque already. They remind us of the two youths in similar communion in the famous *Fête Champêtre*. Brunelleschi tells his story with strong, clear-cut lines. Ghiberti leaves something for us to imagine in the deep shadows and softly undulating modelling. What a problem for the Florentine judges!

¹A true reflection of the artist as he remained to the end and portrayed himself in the famous medallion, which Mr. Stites has adapted for the cover design.



FLORENCE, BARGELLO : A SERVANT FROM THE BRONZE COMPETITIVE PANEL
BY BRUNELLESCHI



FLORENCE, BARGELLO : ISAAC FROM THE BRONZE COMPETITIVE PANEL
BY GHIBERTI



FLORENCE, BARGELLO: A SERVANT FROM THE BRONZE COMPETITIVE PANEL BY BRUNELLESCHI



FLORENCE, BARGELLO: DETAILS FROM THE BRONZE COMPETITIVE PANELS BY
GHIBERTI (above) AND BRUNELLESCHI (below)

The Winged St. John the Baptist

Two Examples in American Collections

By WALTER HARING

There have recently been on exhibition in Princeton two icons which are of considerable interest chiefly because of the representation upon each of a winged figure of St. John the Baptist. One, a Russian icon, is the gift of Professor Allan Marquand to the Princeton University Art Museum. The other is a Greek icon in the possession of Professor Emerson Swift of the University of Michigan. Although they are of minor artistic value, they are interesting as survivals of the forms which Byzantine painting developed in the Middle Ages and which the preservative power of religious thought in the Orient kept practically unchanged. And like most of the paintings of the Orthodox church they should be regarded, not as ends in themselves, but as the means for the expression of a religious idea. The artists are theologians and they repeat old forms because these still adequately express the living religious thoughts of the people. It is this constancy which differentiates the art of the Eastern church from that of the Western church. Even in the painters' guides is this difference manifest, those of the Western church being concerned with colors, technique, æsthetics, those of the East only with iconography. So that in spite of the gradual infiltration of Renaissance and modern elements the art of the Orthodox church retains always that primitive quality which is its chief charm.

The icon in the Princeton museum (Fig. 1) is a small wooden panel ($10\frac{3}{4}$ by $14\frac{3}{8}$ inches) thickly painted in tempera with dark colors. Orange, dull red, and gold are sparingly used on a black ground, while the high lights are picked out in white. Inscriptions in old Slavonic label each scene and figure. In the center is the "Holy Prophet John the Baptist," clad in the customary camel's-hair tunic with an overmantle, and wearing very graceful wings. In his left hand he holds a charger in which lies the Christ Child, while with his right hand he invites you to "Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world. This is he of whom I said, after me cometh a man which is preferred before me: for he was before me" (John i, 29-30). Above his head is the "Lord of Sabbaoth" holding the globe of the world from whom descends the dove of the Holy Spirit in a circular glory. In the upper left corner "The Archangel Gabriel announces to Zacharias the birth of John." Below is the "Birth of St. John Baptist," and "The Holy St. John baptising." In the upper right corner the baptism of Christ is inscribed "Manifestation of our Lord Jesus Christ." Below one sees the executioner "Cutting off the head of the truth-telling St. John the Forerunner," and in the lower corner, the "Discovery of the head of the truth-telling St. John the Forerunner."

A St. John with wings is an interesting departure from the normal, and I have here attempted to suggest an origin for the type and to indicate briefly its development. Justification for the attachment of these angelic appendages to the Baptist is to be found in the words of Malachi (iii, 1), "Behold I will send my messenger (angellos), and he shall prepare the way before me." In Matthew (xi, 10) we are told that this prophecy referred to John; "For this is he of whom it is written, Behold I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee." An interesting dispute arose over th

character of John because of the appellation "angellos." St. Gaudentius of Brescia, who came from the Orient, said, "The most holy Precursor, John the Baptist, is declared angel, apostle, most holy prophet of our Lord Saviour." An unknown author of the seventh century, whose works appear in the collections of Francisco Combesis, writes that John the Baptist may be compared with celestial beings for a double reason: he receives the "name of angel because of his mission and announcement, and because of his accurate imitation of an angel's method of life." Paschasius Ratbertus writes of the dispute over the character of St. John and tells of certain ones of the gnostic sects who heretically declared John to be a "human angel." Cyril of Alexandria refuted and exploded their arguments, says Ratbertus, in his commentary on John, saying, "Therefore the Holy Baptist John called Angel by the voice of God, is not in fact an angel by nature, but one sent to announce and cry out—Prepare the way of the Lord."¹

In the Latin church the dispute over the character of John seems to have been thus ended, and his representations as a winged creature are exclusively Eastern and of the Orthodox church.

The earliest pictured representation of John the Baptist as an angel to which I have found reference is mentioned by Paciaudi, together with a curious legend.

In the city of Perpignan (Department of Rousillon, in the Pyrenees) there is still a tradition that in 1323 a young pilgrim, totally unknown to the people, deposited a wooden shrine, containing a relic of the Baptist, in the Dominican Convent of that city, while on a pilgrimage to Compostella. He left it with the prior, Fr. Petrus de Alenia, an exemplary man, with instructions to preserve it against his return, failing which it should belong to the convent. Refusing to disclose his name he departed, nor was he ever heard from again, though many inquiries were made. Wherefore the citizens, thinking that he was an angel, venerated the shrine as a gift from heaven.

Within the wooden box was the left hand and arm of the holy Baptist up to the elbow, very perfect and lifelike in flesh and bone, except for the last joint of the thumb, "which a certain queen, while pretending to worship, stole away by biting it off, and which is today worshipped in the Dominican Convent of Urchel."

The front face of the casket was colored and on it was painted the image of the Precursor. On his back he wore large wings "which showed him able to fly into the sublime by violent reverberation thereof." His right hand held a book to his breast on which were inscribed these words, "Cry out, Oh Precursor, minister of the word, and with repentance show forth the nature of mortals." Between his feet these other words, "What shall we call you? Prophet, Angel, Apostle, or Martyr?" And, lest this picture give rise to perverse opinions concerning the nature of John, the author prudently wrote upon the box a poem of eighteen verses in which he says,

"Wings thou bearest, as though equal to the Angels;
Being material, yet beyond matter, as the Saviour says."

"In his right hand he holds a salver on which is placed his decapitated head, so that, however atrocious and violent was his exit from life he might be recalled in the minds of believers."²

That the reliquary was of Eastern facture is indicated by the inscriptions, which were in Greek. Its existence at Perpignan in the fourteenth century is attested not only

¹The above discussion is found in Paciaudi, *Antiquitates Christianæ*, Vol. III, *De Cultu S. Ioannis Baptistæ*, Rome, 1775, p. 192.

²Paciaudi, *op. cit.*, p. 194. *Acta Sanctorum*, Vol. V, p. 663.



FIG. 2—FLORENCE, GALLERIA ANTICA E MODERNA: GREEK PAINTING



FIG. 1—PRINCETON, UNIVERSITY MUSEUM: RUSSIAN ICON

by legend but by numerous references to it, the earliest of which dates in 1407 and speaks of it as having "wrought many great miracles in curing ills."¹

At this early period the Perpignan reliquary is, as far as I know, a solitary representative of the type,² but in the sixteenth century and later the examples are numerous. They may be grouped into three general classes.

In the first class, of which examples are most numerous, the Baptist is a frontal figure like the figures on the Perpignan reliquary and the Princeton icon. To the sixteenth century has been assigned an interesting half-length Baptist of this type in the Tretiakov Gallery in Moscow (Fig. 3), which is like the Princeton icon in that the Baptist bears the Christ Child on a charger.³ Similar to this is another half-length figure of the Baptist on one panel of a carved ivory triptych which is described in the *Trésor de Numismatique et de Glyptique* as being in the Vattermare Collection⁴ (Fig. 4). It may be of the sixteenth or seventeenth century. Of the seventeenth century is a panel in the Vatican Museum.⁵ On it is painted a full-length figure of the Baptist with more widely spreading wings. He holds the usual scroll and a charger containing his head. Near him, on his left, is a small tree and driven into its base is a hatchet. The symbol refers to the words of the Baptist in Matthew iii, 10: "And now also the axe is laid unto the root of the tree: therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire." The type is continuous. In the nineteenth century it appears on a panel by Ivanov, on which the Baptist holds only the scroll.⁶

A curious difference may be noticed in the examples cited. In some the Baptist holds his head in a charger and in others, in a similar charger, he holds the Christ Child. The former representation is the usual one, and it is explained in the quaint words of Paciaudi that I have already cited. In such pictures the customary scroll bears the words, "Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." The second variant is somewhat mystifying, and may have arisen, it seems to me, from a confusion between the Eastern and Western methods of depicting the Baptist. In the Latin church, as early as the twelfth century, John is frequently represented holding a lamb in his left arm, and a scroll or banner with the words, "Ecce Agnus Dei." Western influence may be responsible for the substitution of the Child (the Lamb of God) for the head. The conservatism of the art of the Orthodox church would account for the retention of the charger as a receptacle for the Child. Sometimes this *motif* is curiously detached and represented apart from the Baptist. In a Russian icon reproduced by Likhatcheff⁷ the Christ Child lies in a charger on a table, while over him hovers a seraph, and angels guard the curious cradle.

¹*Acta Sanctorum*, Vol. V, p. 664.

²In the *Journal Asiatique*, 11th series, 1913, no. 2, p. 604, under the heading of "Charakan or Charaknots," a "Collection of Hymns of the Armenian Church," a winged John the Baptist is described as figuring in a miniature from a series illustrating the life of Christ (Mekhitarists Library, Vienna, MS. 986, Fol. 219, *verso*). The representation is of John the Baptist in the desert. He wears wings and carries a scroll in his left hand while he gestures with his right. The figure is evidently of the frontal type, similar to the one described by Paciaudi. The work is dated, by the author of the article cited, in the fourteenth or fifteenth century. The occurrence of the figure at such a date, in a collection of hymn illustrations, fits very well with my suggestion as to the origin of the type.

³Ernst Wasmuth, *Orbis Pictus, Altrussische Kunst*, Fig. 43.

⁴*Trésor de Numismatique et de Glyptique*, Paris, 1868, *Bas-Reliefs*, Part II, Pl. 3.

⁵Muñoz, *L'Art Byzantin à l'Exposition de Grottaferrata*, Rome, 1906, p. 70, Fig. 38.

⁶Likhatcheff, *Matériaux pour l'Histoire de l'Iconographie Russe*, St. Petersburg, 1908, Pl. CCCXXXIII, No. 653. I have found numerous references to the occurrence of this type in Greek Menologia, but to none of these illuminations am I able to assign a date. Paciaudi refers to a class of Greek Menaea containing this illustration, first issued in Venice in printed form in 1625 (*op. cit.*, p. 191). Other Russian examples of this type may be found in Likhatcheff, *op. cit.*, Pl. CCCXXXIX, No. 665; Pl. LXXIV, No. 120; Pl. XI, No. 19 (in the Vostriakov Coll., Moscow). A Greek example is illustrated in Likhatcheff, *op. cit.*, Pl. XI, No. 18. Baumstark, *Oriens Christianus*, Vol. V, 1915, p. 288, tells of two examples which are in a Coptic church in Jerusalem.

⁷Likhatcheff, *op. cit.*, Pl. CCXXV, No. 625.

In the second class of winged Baptists there is usually a rocky landscape background in which St. John is represented in profile, and looks upward to where, in a glory, God the Father appears. This type is well illustrated by a painting in the Galleria Antica e Moderna in Florence (Fig. 2). The severed head appears in a charger on one side, and on the other, the axe at the root of the tree. At the feet of the Baptist flows a river. This, together with the posture of John, causes Muñoz to suggest that it is a derivative from the scene of the Baptism of Christ.¹ The use of a winged St. John in a scene of the Baptism on an old processional cross lends support to this theory.²

In the third class the Baptist is merely an incidental figure in a large scene. Examples of this type are not uncommon. It seems to be a later development. A traditionally painted Nativity of the Baptist in a Russian collection has in the background a large and fine winged Baptist, who, very curiously, seems to preside over his own birth³ (Fig. 6).

A possible origin for this custom of representing the Baptist with wings has been suggested to me by the facts that it does not appear until the fourteenth century and that in this century there was in Byzantine art a developing tendency to render literally the images evoked by the sacred liturgy and hymns. Many new *motifs* appear at this time. The Acathistus Hymn inspired strange compositions and even the Divine Liturgy became a subject for painters.⁴ In such a century in the East a literal representation of the Baptist as an "angellos" would be a natural invention. The type became quite common by the seventeenth century and the Baptist was so represented in the Podlinnik (Painters' Manual) of Siia.⁵ It is found principally in Greece and Russia, though not uncommonly in Orthodox Palestinian churches.

About the scenes surrounding the central figure in the Princeton icon little can be said. They are the traditional subjects traditionally rendered. Curious baroque elements appear in some of the scenes, such as the Nativity of John, in the introduction of heavy curtains. All but the last scene are based upon the biblical story. The picture of the discovery of the head of John is based upon a legend mentioned in the Paschal Chronicle under the date 453. It is charmingly given in the Golden Legend, as Englished by William Caxton.

After the execution of John, Herodias, fearing lest he should rise again should his head be buried with his body, took the head and buried it in Jerusalem, secretly, near the dwelling of Herod. "In the time of Marcian the prince, which was the year of Our Lord three hundred and fifty-three, John showed his head to two monks that were come to Jerusalem. And then they went to the palace which was longing to Herod and found the head of S. John wrapped in an hair, and as I suppose, they were of the vestments that he wore in the desert. And then they went with the head toward their proper places. And as they went on their way a poor man which was of the city of Emissene came and fellowshipped with them, and they delivered him the bag in which was the holy head. Then this man was warned in the night that he should go his way and flee from them with the head,

¹Muñoz, *Rivista d'Arte*, Vol. VI, 1909, p. 113.

²Paciaudi, *op. cit.*, p. 63. Another example of the type may be found in Likhatcheff, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXXIII, No. 118. Baumstark, *Römische Quartalschrift*, Vol. XIX, 1905, p. 205, tells of an example in the 1905 Grottaferrata exhibition of Italo-Byzantine art.

³Likhatcheff, *op. cit.*, Pl. CXVIII, No. 209. Other examples of this type may be found in *ibid.*: Pl. CLIII, No. 267 (*Omnis Caro Sileat*—in the Church of the Intercession of the Rogojski Cemetery, Moscow); Pl. CCLXV, No. 492 (Icon of All the Saints—in the above-mentioned church); Pl. CCLXIV, No. 490 (Creation of the World—in the Museum of the Ecclesiastical Academy in Kiev); Pl. CLXXXI, No. 313 (*Au Tombeau*); Baumstark, *op. cit.*, tells of two Deësis pictures at the Grottaferrata exhibition in which winged Baptists appear. The Catalogue of Mediaeval and Renaissance Paintings in the Fogg Art Museum gives a winged St. John in a Presentation of the Virgin. Doubtful representations are mentioned in Strzygowski, *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, Vol. XL, 1902, Pl. II, 3, and in Innitzer, *Johannes der Täufer*, p. 465, Note 3.

⁴Diehl, *Manuel d'Art Byzantin*, Paris, 1910, p. 778.

⁵Muñoz, *L'Art Byzantin*, p. 70, Fig. 39.



FIG. 3—MOSCOW, TRETIAKOV GALLERY:
RUSSIAN PAINTING



FIG. 4—PARIS, VATTEMARE COLLECTION:
PANEL OF A CARVED IVORY TRIPTYCH



FIG. 5—ANN ARBOR, COLLECTION OF PROFESSOR EMERSON SWIFT: GREEK ICON



and so he went with the head, and brought it into the city of Emissene. And there as long as he lived he worshipped the head in a cave, and had always good prosperity. And when he should die he told and showed it to his sister, charging her to tell it to nobody by her faith, and she kept it all her life, as he had done tofore long time. After that, long time, the blessed John Baptist made revelation of his head to S. Marcellus, monk, that dwelled in that cave." Here follows the vision of Marcellus. "And the night following as he slept, there came a man to him which awoke him, and when he was awakened he saw a right fair star which shone amidst of the cell throughout the house. And he arose and would have touched it, and it turned suddenly on that other side. And he began to run after it till that the star abode in the place where the head of S. John was, and there he dalf and found a pot, and the holy head therein." This is the scene that is represented on the icon. "And a monk that would not believe that it was the head of S. John, laid his hand upon the pot, and forthwith his hand burned and cleaved so to the pot that he could not withdraw it therefrom in no manner, and his fellows prayed for him. And then he drew off his hand, but it was not whole. And S. John appeared to him and said: When my head shall be set in the church, touch thou then the pot and thou shalt be whole, and so he did and received his health, and was whole as it was tofore."

The conservatism of late Russian art makes dating hazardous, and it is impossible to say more than that this icon is of the eighteenth century. The style of the figures on Russian icons changes considerably during the seventeenth century. Earlier than this the figures are angular and distorted. The Baptist is represented as an uncouth creature with disheveled hair and stiff garments. The change is to a smoother type with oval face and well-combed hair, and by the eighteenth century this transformation is complete. I have illustrated a section of an eighteenth-century icon of "Saint Alexis, Man of God" (Fig. 7).¹ In the glossy, wooden flesh parts, the slick hair and tightly curled beard, the drapery schematically drawn over the right leg, the snail-shell clouds above with Christ in a conventionally outlined glory, I find close parallels to the Princeton icon.

The Greek icon belonging to Mr. Swift (Fig. 5) is very different in appearance and technique. It is a small wooden triptych (10½ by 8¼ inches) surfaced and moulded with plaster. The painting is on a gold ground—thin red and green tempera for the draperies, marked in black lines, and a heavy gray-brown for the flesh parts with gray-green beards.

The central panel of the triptych represents the Trinity with God the Father on the right wearing the nimbus significant of the Trinity—a triangle within a circle, three persons, yet one God. On his right is Christ and above them the dove of the Holy Ghost. They sit, quite self-consciously, upon cumbersome clouds. Above, in the corners, are tiny winged cherub heads, an amusing Renaissance element. On the door to the right is St. John winged. He is clad as usual in a hair garment. At his feet is an indistinguishable object, perhaps his head or the axe customarily represented with him. On the left door the worn inscription names the figure as Saint Charalampos, who should be represented, according to the Mt. Athos Painters' Manual, as a priest with a long pointed beard, divided in two parts.² This saint was a protector against plagues, and about his worship is this interesting story.

"In 1792 a column was erected near the Piraeus road in this way. Forty women who had been married once collected a sum of money, with which they purchased a cart and a silver vessel. To the cart they yoked twin calves, and made three circuits of the place; then they wrote down all sicknesses and put the list into the silver vessel. Beside

¹Likhatcheff, *op. cit.*, Pl. CCCXXXVI, No. 666.

²Denys de Fournas, *Manuel d'Iconographie Chrétienne*, St. Petersburg, 1909, pp. 199-269, 292.

the wall on the Piraeus road they dug deep, and put the cart, the vessel, and the sacrificed calves into the hole, placing a column on top. This ceremony was performed in honour of St. Charalampos. In 1835 the column was dug up and all these things were found beneath it. The buried articles were believed to give the column its miraculous power, and henceforth the people could bind their sicknesses to it."¹

The presence of this saint on the same panel with St. John the Baptist is interesting in the light of the fact that St. John too was a healing saint and likewise was worshipped in connection with a column.

"St. John was a doctor and healed especially fevers. He lived as a hermit and did much good. When he was about to die he set up a column, and to the foundation he bound all diseases with different kinds of coloured silks—fever with yellow silk, measles with red silk, and other diseases with other colours. When he had dug very deep, he put the column on top, and said: 'When I die, let any sick man come and bind a silk thread to the column with three knots according to the colour of his illness, and let him say: "St. John, I bind my diseases, and the favour will be yours if you rid me of it." And he will be cured.'"²

John the Baptist is still worshipped by a single column, and in the church of St. John of the Column in Athens there is behind the iconostasis in the sanctuary a single column which projects through the roof. It is the most important part of the chapel and when fevers and diseases are prevalent the column is thickly covered in the prescribed manner.

Although it is quite apart from our subject, it is interesting to speculate upon the origin of this curious use of the column in the worship of St. John. In Greece, especially, was the Baptist the successor of Adonis in popular cult, and many of the pagan rites of Adonis are continued in his worship. It may well be that here is another survival of the cult of Adonis and that the Adonic symbol of fertility and health has become the health-giving monument to St. John.

This little triptych, devoted to health-giving saints, is probably not earlier than the nineteenth century, though its style would permit it to be dated a century earlier. It is another illustration of the persistence of types in the Orthodox church.

That it is still the custom to represent the Baptist with wings I learned from Mr. J. Donald Young who recently saw in the little wayside chapel of Hagio Spirido in Attica on the road from Porto Germano to Vilia, such a figure on the iconostasis, which must date within the last thirty years.

¹Hamilton, *Greek Saints and their Festivals*, p. 71.

²Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 66.



FIG. 6—PETROGRAD, LIKHATCHEFF COLLECTION: PAINTING OF THE NATIVITY OF
JOHN THE BAPTIST



FIG. 7—PETROGRAD, LIKHATCHEFF COLLECTION: SECTION
FROM AN ICON OF "ST. ALEXIS, MAN OF GOD"



REVIEWS

- (1) DELLA ROBBIAS IN AMERICA, 1912. (2) LUCA DELLA ROBBIA, 1914. (3) ROBBIA HERALDRY, 1919. (4) GIOVANNI DELLA ROBBIA, 1920. (5) BENEDETTO AND SANTI BUGLIONI, 1921. (6) ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA AND HIS ATELIER, 1922. BY ALLAN MARQUAND. 4°, ILLUSTRATED. PRINCETON, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS.

One of several reasons for the frequent and justifiable practice of describing our age as Alexandrian is that we have applied ourselves to the business of criticism. The comparison is often made in a somewhat derogatory sense, with the insinuation that critical interests imply lack of creative power and are the concern of less vigorous imaginations. Our own epoch, as well as the Alexandrian period from which it has taken its appellation, stands in need of rehabilitation. It is high time that the claims of criticism to recognition as a product of creative intellect be reasserted and that constructive research be considered a suitable exercise for an enlightened mind. The tremendous achievements in this field of the centuries immediately preceding the birth of Christ deserve once again their proper appraisal, and even we ourselves may begin to entertain a legitimate pride in the similar attainments of the present day. The series of books here under review must certainly be placed in the category of worthy objects for such pride. The results of the last decades in literary criticism are at least generally realized, if not rightly esteemed; the results in the criticism of art are as yet known only to a small circle, consisting chiefly of the scholars themselves, and have failed to receive an appreciation in any way commensurate with their importance.

The undertaking that awaited, in our day, the students of the history of art was analogous to that which presented itself to the Alexandrian age, and the author of this momentous series of monographs, Professor Marquand, has been one of the pioneers in the assumption and performance of the task. The Alexandrian scholars accomplished the sacred duty of interpreting, systematizing, and coördinating the enormous mass of supreme literature bequeathed to them by the Greek world of the earlier centuries; in the process it was necessary to sift out the spurious from the authentic and thus to safeguard for posterity the pure canon of Hellenic prose and poetry. Those who set themselves in the nineteenth century to the investigation of art were confronted with an equally confused accumulation of objects produced by the great epochs of the past. The understanding and proper evaluation of this artistic heritage were vitiated by an accretion of legends and false attributions and by an absence of definition and classification. The knowledge of the history of art was, indeed, little better than a chaos, by bringing order out of which our scholars have gained the right to be called creative. By laborious examination of detail, often no more interesting to the investigator than to the superficial public that makes easy mock of it, they have separated imitations and forgeries from genuine works. Starting from these facts rather than from vague speculation, they have then sought to discover and point out the real beauties of the masters, and have thus clearly defined their personalities. By connecting each artist with his predecessors and contemporaries, they have brought into relief the influences under which he developed and lived. By the drudgery of search for documents and of careful scrutiny of their contents, they have established the facts of biography and chronological development. By comparison of æsthetic evolution in one country with that of another, they have

outlined the universal characteristics of each period and at the same time have discerned persistent national traits in the output of the several peoples. By broadening their scope to include history and literature, they have set the arts in their proper relation to civilization and have thus clarified the general cultural conception of every epoch. In a word, by the application of the modern historical method to their subject, they have laid a firm foundation of ascertained truth, upon which the enjoyment of art and the philosophic study of æsthetics may now be the more securely based.

It is with these principles of modern criticism in mind that Professor Marquand has devoted himself to the study of the Della Robbia. Certainly no field in the whole prospect of art was more sorely in need of clarification or involved knottier questions. One has only to look into old guidebooks or into the catalogues of collections of photographs compiled not more than a score of years ago to realize the confusion which reigned in ascriptions to the various members of the family and which was occasioned by a comparative similarity of style, by the fact that they all used the peculiar medium of glazed terracotta, and by the existence of a great number of imitators who were called into being by the phenomenal popularity of the Della Robbia ware. But here was only the beginning of difficulties. There was the forbidding largeness of the subject, since, even if the author had been content to confine himself to a single figure of the workshop, such as Luca della Robbia, he could not have treated him adequately without bringing at least one or two of the others into the consideration for the sake of comparison and differentiation. Having once elected to comprise the whole dynasty and their *cortège* in his investigation, Professor Marquand multiplied for himself the perplexities of dates, documents, and origins, and already in 1912, in the book on *Della Robbias in America*, he was cognizant of the problem of a rival workshop, which he afterward solved in 1921 in the volume on *Benedetto and Santi Buglioni*. The compensation for the difficulty of the enterprise must have been the alluring beauty of the objects with which he has had to deal and the consciousness that he was performing the precious service of creating for them a more intelligent appreciation.

The plan and mechanism of each volume are such as to achieve the most lucid presentation of the material. In each of the four books that have to do with definite individualities, there is an introduction which traces the biography with scientific accuracy, discusses briefly but penetratingly the style and attainments of the master in question, and includes the documents apposite to his life and development. The volumes on the Buglioni and on Andrea della Robbia are enriched at this point by comprehensive, clearly arranged, and invaluable genealogical trees of both Benedetto and Santi Buglioni and of the whole Della Robbia family. The earliest work, *Della Robbias in America*, does not call for such an introduction, but the book on heraldry begins with a general discussion of the treatment of shields, garlands, and inscriptions by the workshop. The main body of each volume is a *catalogue raisonné* of the production of the artist or artists in question or of the group of objects indicated by the title. Scholarly completeness is carried even to the point of introducing notices of works that are no longer extant. Each entry, as a rule accompanied by a satisfactory and often an excellent illustration, comprises, in welcome fullness, a detailed description of the object, even of its color-scheme, a comparison with analogous works by the same sculptor, an account of its vicissitudes, an indication of the other works by which it has been influenced, a specification of its relationship to contemporary history and historical personages, a discussion of the attribution, and a similar keen analysis of any other significant matters of interest; finally, documents of special bearing are retained for quotation at the conclusions of the articles upon the separate works with which they have to do, and it is here also that each object receives its exhaustive

bibliography, except in *Della Robbias in America*, where the references appear at the bottom of the pages. The entries are ordinarily and conveniently arranged in groups according to the decades of the master's development. In the books on Giovanni della Robbia and on the Buglioni the works in the manner of the master are placed in the same decades with the productions by his own hand; in the monographs on Luca and Andrea della Robbia they are set separately at the end, in the case of Andrea requiring a second volume. The book on *Della Robbias in America* disposes the entries under the headings of the different members of the family; that on heraldry adopts a succession according to date, which means a general arrangement according to artists, except where the activities of the ateliers of Andrea and Giovanni della Robbia and of the Buglioni overlap. Each member of the series, with the exception of *Della Robbias in America*, concludes with a general bibliography, which catalogues the abbreviations employed for the many publications mentioned in the body of the text, but which will serve an additional purpose, as gathering together in one place for the student all the books that he will need to consult when investigating the subject in question. The bibliography is followed, finally, by a scrupulously prepared index, conveniently subdivided, except for Luca della Robbia, according to subjects and places; in the *Robbia Heraldry*, an index of names of families very properly, and, for students of history and heraldry, very usefully, takes the place of the index of subjects.

The entries in the books on America and on heraldry are, of course, repeated in the special monographs on the individual sculptors, usually with greater fullness and with documentation. Sometimes riper study has brought new points of view, particularly in questions of ascription. Whereas, for instance, in the earlier book Professor Marquand definitely denies the relief of Adam and Eve in the Walters' Collection, Baltimore, to Giovanni della Robbia's own hand, in the subsequent monograph on the master his words give the impression that he now is willing to accept this attribution. The ascription of the Adoration of the Child in the same collection he discusses in the early volume with that admirable circumspection of language which, as an honest scholar, he adopts throughout the series when he himself is doubtful and feels that a categorical statement as to authorship is not justified; but one can read between the lines that he would not be loath to declare for the actual execution of Andrea della Robbia. When, however, he comes in 1922 to write of the same relief, he has decided to relegate it to the volume on Andrea's atelier. A decade ago he says of the Lamentation at Fenway Court, Boston: "We have no difficulty in recognizing the handiwork of Giovanni della Robbia . . . It seems probable that someone from Giovanni's atelier assisted him in the execution of the Boston altarpiece;" by 1920 he has become more specific: "The central group is doubtless by Giovanni's own hand . . . The framework was probably left to an assistant . . . So was doubtless the background." A case of a correction of another kind is supplied by the Adoration of the atelier of Andrea della Robbia, No. 71 of the Bargello, Florence. In *Robbia Heraldry* Professor Marquand refers this relief to the marriage of a Ghislieri with a lady of the Martini dell'Ala family, suggesting, however, in parenthesis that she may rather have belonged to the Landi; in the volume on the atelier of Andrea he definitely identifies her with Agnoletta Landi and now gives her as husband Branatio di Giovanni di Piero Campagno. The slightness of these changes, however, and the surprisingly few instances in which the author has found it necessary to make any alterations of attributions whatsoever are witness to the judicious care with which he has weighed his conclusions in the first place before committing them to print.

The other general virtues of these books are such that they might well be placed as models in the hands of students who are training themselves in the improved modern methods for the investigation of the fine arts. Too much stress cannot be laid upon the extent to which explanatory documents are introduced and the acuteness with which they are interpreted. For the discovery of a very large number of documents Professor Marquand is indebted to the enlightened assistance of Mr. Rufus G. Mather in Italy, and all readers will join in the hearty tributes of gratitude that the author renders to Mr. Mather's unflagging research and enthusiasm. Reliance upon documents, however, can be overdone. The student will receive this important caution not only from the instances in which Professor Marquand has been obliged to control the evidence from the records but from his own explicit statements in the introduction to the *Andrea Della Robbia*.¹ Even documents may err in names and dates, and the head of the workshop himself may be down in black and white as having received payment for a commission the execution of which he left to his assistants. Two typical instances may serve to illustrate the way in which written statements must be harmonized with stylistic testimony. In a document of 1496 Andrea della Robbia is declared to have been paid for the lunette of St. Zenobius and two angels now in the Opera del Duomo, Florence, but Professor Marquand believes that the workmanship is rather that of his atelier. A more delicate problem is involved in the attribution of the Nativity in the chapel of the Sacrament in the cathedral of Massa-Carrara. A lost document of 1508, published by Campori, introduces Benedetto Buglioni as obtaining remuneration for two altarpieces in this church, which have hitherto been considered to be the Nativity and an Epiphany which was sold out of Italy in the early nineteenth century and has disappeared. Professor Marquand,² however, by decisively rejecting the Nativity, on stylistic grounds, from the canon of Benedetto Buglioni and by not even assigning it to one of his assistants but rather to the atelier of Andrea della Robbia, forces us to believe that the two productions of Buglioni at Massa, whatever were their themes, have strayed from their original position to an unknown resting-place.

The author is so thoroughly conversant with all aspects of the Italian Renaissance that the entries are stocked with valuable and often recondite historical information. The discussions of the donors are particularly illuminating. None of these facts are irrelevant but are brought into connection with the principal purpose of the writer, the critical interpretation of each work of art. The conclusions are frequently reached with much acumen. The escutcheons, for instance, on the altarpiece in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum at Berlin, representing the Virgin between Sts. Francis and Cosmas, prove that the commission was given to Andrea della Robbia by a member of the Florentine family of the Sassetti. On the basis of the two patron saints who are introduced, it is rightly argued that the altarpiece might well be a thank offering of that fosterer of the arts, Francesco Sassetti, for the birth of his son, Cosimo; and at this point some apposite data are presented in regard to the activity of the Sassetti, who so ably seconded the Medici. To take other examples from the *Andrea della Robbia*, which, as the latest book in the series, perhaps calls for more extended notice, the discussion of the great Crucifixion at La Verna leads to an indication of the connection of the Alessandri with this shrine, and the illuminating treatment of the decoration of the Ospedale di S. Paolo at Florence involves an interesting paragraph on its governor, Benino dei Benini. Often the author is able to relate objects to important marriages, as, in the *Luca della Robbia*, two lovely escutcheons in the Serristori Palace, Florence, to the union of a Maddalena of that family with Jacopo

¹p. xiv.

²Buglioni, p. 87; *Andrea della Robbia*, II, p. 107.

dei Pazzi. In his useful account of this prominent Florentine gentleman, he finds it possible to limit the date of these coats of arms to a period between 1446, when the marriage took place, and 1478, when Jacopo perished in the conspiracy that bears his name, and with high probability to assign them definitely to shortly after 1453, since it was in this year that Jacopo was made a member of the Order of the Crescent and since it was just at this time that Luca was working for him in the embellishment of the Pazzi Chapel. It is not seldom that historical information is thus neatly called into service in order to date an object. Since the escutcheon on the Madonna in the castle of Lari displays the arms of the Segni family and since Alessandro di Piero di Mariotto Segni was Vicar here in 1524 and 1525, it must have been made at this time, with the further important consequence that it can scarcely be ascribed to the workshop under Andrea, who died a very old man in 1525, but rather to the administration of his son, Giovanni. Andrea's medallion of a youth in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, is assigned to about 1475, because the surrounding wreath is very similar to that employed at S. Giovanni in Valdarno for the coat of arms of Antonio di Lorenzo Buondelmonti, which is accompanied by an inscription stating that he was Vicar in this year. The comparison of the two wreaths suggests another virtue of the series. At the logical places groupings of similar compositions by the same master, especially of his treatment of the Virgin and Child, are made in such a way as to assist in the determination of chronology and to facilitate the reader's acquisition of knowledge. The most notable example of such classification occurs in the volume on Andrea's atelier, the elaborate catalogue, with seventeen subdivisions, of the Adorations derived from the altarpiece at La Verna.

The precision of Professor Marquand's scholarship demands a few illustrations. The passage in which he revindicates for Andrea della Robbia the Madonna and Angels over the entrance to the Badia at Florence exemplifies the pains that he spends upon questions of attribution.¹ A touch of a peculiarly modern sweetness in the heads certainly does arouse in the reviewer, at first glance, the shadow of a suspicion that this lunette might be as modern as its frame; but by an examination of its history, the quality of the glaze, and the nature of the blue of the background, Professor Marquand succeeds in establishing that the doubt is not justified; by a comparison of blues, a study of the types of angels, and a realization of the influence of Luca upon the treatment of the Virgin and Child, he refutes the long line of critics who, since Milanesi, have championed an ascription to Benedetto Buglioni. With a similar elaborate accumulation of evidence he abandons his own earlier belief in Luca as the author of the tondo of the Nativity in the Victoria and Albert Museum and assigns both frame and relief to Andrea's workshop. The frames themselves receive an attention which, until one comprehends their archæological and æsthetic importance, would seem inordinate. All their aspects that have any significance are stressed—the varying nature of the ornament, the contrast of Luca's free disposition of flowers, foliage, and fruit with Andrea's more symmetrical and Giovanni's more disorderly garlands, the questions of authenticity, of the disturbing of an original arrangement, and of adjustment to the general composition of the monument. Even the eyes are called upon to supply their testimony, pointing to Luca if blue, to Andrea if hazel, and to Giovanni if brown or black; and the position of the Child to the right or left (from the spectator's standpoint) when grouped with the Virgin is used as a method for ascription to Luca or Andrea respectively. Professor Marquand rightly is not so afraid of the slur of pedantry, that is easily flung by the superficial and unthinking, as to disdain the evidence of

¹*Andrea della Robbia*, I, pp. 56-57.

minutiæ. In the volume on heraldry he makes much of the quality of the lettering and of the kind of punctuation in the inscriptions as guides to attributions; and in the last sentence of the introduction he defends such criticism and provides a good text for the scientific investigator of art, when he says: "The student who overlooks them will have no sense of the value of little things." Occasionally the reader, perhaps through his own perversity, chafes under the author's unremitting circumspection. One could wish, for instance, that in the book on the Buglioni he had more often ventured to distinguish the hands of Benedetto and Santi themselves from those of their followers.¹

His scrupulousness, however, has not closed his mind to the larger issues. One is only a means to the other. He himself points out that the modes of lettering in inscriptions are indexes to characteristics of broader interest, the "independence and originality" of Luca, the "grace and refinement" of Andrea, the "commonplace ideals" of Giovanni.² The volumes, and particularly the all too brief introductions, are crammed with such keen and illuminating observations not only on the Della Robbia but on the art of the Renaissance in general as to justify the hope that Professor Marquand will eventually bring together all this material and write a synthetic book on the whole history of the Della Robbia ware, its various exponents, their styles, achievements, and relations to their times. Examples of these generalizing sentences and passages may be selected almost at random, for instance, in the *Andrea della Robbia*, the concise and original summary of the master's characteristics, especially his predilection for asymmetry,³ the observations in regard to his inclination to render iconography more formal and ritualistic,⁴ and the indication of the influence of Mino da Fiesole.⁵ The manner in which not seldom he broadens his outlook still further may be illustrated by a sentence in *Della Robbias in America*⁶ upon the tendency in the sculpture of the end of the Quattrocento to enlarge and simplify compositions and, in the *Andrea della Robbia*, by the contrasting of the domination of Florentine artistic activity by architects in the first half of the fifteenth century with the ascendancy of sculptors and painters in the second half.⁷

Every page of the series contains noteworthy contributions to the knowledge and interpretation of the Della Robbia, so that the reviewer can do little more than set down a few of the conclusions in each volume that have impressed him as more peculiarly novel and important. In *Della Robbias in America* it is convincingly maintained that the puzzling bust of Marietta Strozzi at Fenway Court, Boston, was neither modelled by Desiderio da Settignano nor glazed by Luca della Robbia. Among the most memorable features of the book on Luca are: the refutation, on chronological grounds, of a training with the goldsmith Leonardo di Ser Giovanni and of Donatello's influence upon the Singing Gallery and the relief of the Philosophers on the Campanile;⁸ a mass of cogent evidence to support the attribution of the great Visitation at Pistoia to Luca, particularly

¹Now and then the proof-reading leaves something to be desired. In line 11 of page 17 of *Robbia Heraldry*, for instance, *samé* is left for *semé*; towards the top of page 124 of *Andrea della Robbia* a line has dropped out. On page 164 of the same volume the Jesuits are spoken of as building a church in 1464, almost three quarters of a century before the Order came into existence; the reference should evidently be to the Jesuates, founded by St. John Colombini. On page 81 of the volume on Andrea's atelier, the Spanish sculptor Bartolomé Ordóñez appears as Bartolome Ondóñez; and on page 145, in the discussion of the standing Madonna at Trapani, it would have been well to mention the very evident influence of the type of Virgin evolved in Sicily by the Laurana and Gagini workshops.

²*Robbia Heraldry*, p. xvii.

³p. xvii.

⁴p. 95.

⁵pp. 34 and 50.

⁶p. 54.

⁷p. xvi.

⁸pp. xxvii-xxviii.

the consideration that it was already in the church of S. Giovanni Fuorcivitas in 1445 when Andrea was only ten years old; the addition of the Adoration and the Madonna at Wellington, Somerset, England, to the number of the master's works; the demonstration of the fact that Luca anticipated Andrea's extension of glazed terracotta to large altarpieces in at least one monument, the example at Pescia; the exclusion of both Brunelleschi and Luca from participation in the Evangelists of the pendentives of the Pazzi Chapel; and the rejection of the much discussed unglazed reliefs of the Madonna and Angels¹ from the canon of Luca. The book on heraldry not only commends itself to the lover of art for the beauty of the objects which it describes, to the archæologist for the assistance that it renders him in the dating of monuments, and to the historian for the fund of information that it contains; but our most distinguished American heraldist, Mr. Pierre la Rose, has admitted to the reviewer that even he has found it of value in the pursuit of his science and that Professor Marquand's knowledge of heraldry is adequate to the purpose of the volume. This is much from a luminary of that branch of erudition the exponents of which are traditionally the most captious of critics. The *Giovanni della Robbia* the reviewer has discussed at length in another place;² here it is necessary only to allude once more to the new stress upon the influence of Verrocchio and, above all, to the great achievement of solving the hard problems that hitherto had surrounded the attribution of the reliefs on the portico of the Ospedale del Ceppo at Pistoia. The five medallions and the four half-medallions containing escutcheons and scenes from the life of the Virgin are proved to have come from Giovanni's hand. The more significant part of the decoration, the frieze of the Works of Mercy, are definitively assigned, in the volume on the Buglioni, to Santi Buglioni, with the exception of the panel depicting the giving of drink to the thirsty, which may have been executed by Filippo Paladini. The most momentous result of the research on the Buglioni is the demonstration of the fact that at least one other *bottega*, besides that of the Della Robbia, produced works in glazed terracotta at the end of the fifteenth and in the sixteenth century. The indebtedness of Benedetto Buglioni to Antonio Rossellino is emphasized, and the corpus of his works is increased by a number of new attributions, one of the most interesting of which is the statue of the dead St. Christina, with its haunting beauty, in the Collegiata at Bolsena. The *Andrea della Robbia* represents the maturity of the author's scholarship. In addition to the allusions already made to this book, it should finally be noted that it has corrected certain erroneous impressions that have detracted somewhat from Andrea's reputation. The entries on pages 107 and 148 prove that Andrea was not confined to the medium of glazed terracotta, and the removal of many productions, such as the London Epiphany, from the catalogue of his authentic works tends to absolve him of the accusation of having perverted the medium into a highly pictorial use. One is gratified also to discover the emphasis upon the often neglected fact that, of the fourteen Infants on the Loggia degli Innocenti at Florence, the two pairs at the two ends are modern.

It is hard to exhaust, in a review, the many aspects in which these volumes appeal to the interest of the intelligent public. Inasmuch as the production of the Della Robbia stretched from the beginning to the end of the Italian Renaissance, the series of books forms a kind of microcosm of the whole æsthetic development of the period. We find mirrored here the strenuous simplicity of the early Quattrocento in the person of Luca della Robbia, the conscious and more sophisticated achievement of the second half of the century in Andrea della Robbia and Benedetto Buglioni, the transition to the classicism

¹pp. 228-231.

²*The Literary Review*, N. Y. *Evening Post*, February 19, 1921.

of the Cinquecento in Giovanni della Robbia and Santi Buglioni. Since the influences of many other artists played, in a greater or less degree, upon all these sculptors and since Professor Marquand never fails to discern the cases in which they are beholden to their contemporaries, the picture of the Renaissance afforded by the monographs is vastly broadened. They gain in significance, for us, in that they were written by an American and constitute a monumental addition to the important and rapidly increasing contribution of our country to the study of the fine arts. It has already been earnestly suggested that Professor Marquand now compose a general synthetic book on the Della Robbia; at least he has promised to bring the present series to absolute completion with a volume on Giovanni's brothers.

Chandler R. Post

IRANIANS AND GREEKS IN SOUTH RUSSIA. BY M. ROSTOVITZEFF. XVI + 260 PP., 32 PLS. OXFORD, CLARENDON PRESS, 1922. 35 SHILLINGS.

Professor Rostovtzeff, the learned Russian scholar, formerly of the University of Petrograd, has long been recognized as one of the leading authorities in Classical archæology and history, and especially in the ancient history of Russia and Asia Minor. His numerous articles and books have made some exceedingly valuable and original contributions, but unfortunately for us several of his writings have been published only in Russian. But now that he is professor of ancient history in the University of Wisconsin, he is publishing many an article in English; and the book under review though repeating material already published in Russian, is especially welcome to Americans, to many of whom much of this material has been a closed book. To be sure, Minns has published a large volume on *Scythians and Greeks*, in which a complete survey is given of the material illustrating the early history of South Russia and of the views of scholars on the various problems of the history and archæology of South Russia. Professor Rostovtzeff, however, tries to go further and give a history of the South Russian lands in the prehistoric, the proto-historic, and the Classic periods down to the epoch of the migrations. He defines the part played by South Russia in the history of the world in general, and emphasizes the contributions of South Russia to the civilization of mankind, using especially the rich archæological evidence furnished by excavations in South Russia. Archæology is a source of historical information, sometimes even more important than the written sources, and Professor Rostovtzeff has shown perhaps better than any other living professor of ancient history how to write history with the help of archæology. His results cannot be considered final, since we still know so little of the history and archæology of Central Asia and of the Iranian world. The exploration of the Caucasian lands and of the upper course of the Euphrates is in its infancy, but Professor Rostovtzeff has blazed a wide trail by showing the importance of the connections with Asia Minor for the development of South Russia, and the importance of South Russia for understanding the main features of the civilization of these lands during the rule of the Scythians and of the Sarmatians of the South Russian steppes. Professor Rostovtzeff, while not denying the Greek influences, maintains that South Russia always has remained an Oriental land. Hellenism met Orientalism there but the Oriental stream was the stronger and spread thence all over Western Europe.

"The attempt to Hellenize the South Russian steppes was not a complete success; much more successful was the attempt to orientalize the semi-Greek world of the northern shores of the Black Sea. In the civilization which the Sarmatians, the Goths, the Huns, brought with them to Western Europe it is the Orient which plays the leading part; the Greek, the Western, and the Northern elements are of but secondary importance."

This is the leading idea of the book, which also has important material for the student of the history of art and especially of the origin of Gothic art, since Professor Rostovtzeff maintains that "South Russia was one of the centres, in which polychromy developed early, and independently of the other centres of ancient jewellery; and assumed special forms which brought about the new style commonly called Gothic." The book is attractively printed in large type, on good paper, in an appropriate size and beautiful blue binding. The printing has been well done, though in English Kertch is preferable to Kerch, and Chaldean to Chaldian, forms used *passim* in the book. There are thirty-two full page plates (on p. 171 the reference should be to pl. XXIX, not XXX), and twenty-three figures with rare illustrations of important works of art, some reproduced for the first time.

After an introduction follow chapters on The Prehistoric Civilizations, The Cimmerians and the Scythians in South Russia (Eighth to Fifth Centuries B. C.), The Greeks on the Shores of the Black Sea down to the Roman Period, The Scythians at the End of the Fourth and in the Third Century B. C., The Sarmatians, The Greek Cities of South Russia in the Roman Period, The Polychrome Style and the Animal Style, The Origin of the Russian State on the Dnieper, Bibliography, and Index.

The bibliography contains much detailed learning and will be useful to the scholar. On page 235 a reference should have been added to the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, XLIV, 1920, p. 356, where a better text is given than by Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.*, 1916, p. 345.

The book is full of suggestions of questions for investigation; the budding Ph. D. will have no difficulty in getting a subject for a dissertation here. Many sites are mentioned for excavation. On p. 82 we read: "One of the most pressing tasks in the scientific exploration of Asia Minor, is the excavation of the oldest and wealthiest Greek colonies on the southern shore of the Black Sea: Sinope, Amisos, Heracleia." In this connection and where the relations of ancient Russia and Sinope and the southern shore of the Black Sea are treated (p. 162), reference might have been made to my little monograph, *Ancient Sinope*, where especially in the chapter on commerce there is considerable material bearing on Sinope's connections with Olbia, Panticapaeum, etc. (cf. my references in *American Journal of Philology*, XXVII, 1906, notes on pp. 136, 137). The book is full of fascinating and original ideas but there is not space to discuss them in detail. Time will test many of them, and I feel convinced that future discoveries will corroborate most of them, perhaps, however, not the thesis that the corbelled vault was continuously employed in Thrace, Greece, and Asia Minor, from the Mycenaean period onwards, for underground buildings and especially for tumular graves. But we are indebted to the enthusiasm of Professor Rostovtzeff for an appreciation of South Russian art and civilization such as has not been available hitherto. Read, for example, p. 79:

"All the Panticapaeon architects did was to import the technique to Panticapaeum and to perfect it. But they were not servile imitators: they managed to give their buildings an air of grandeur and a distinctive charm: they contrived to find proportions which inspire us with a profound respect for their taste and for their technical acquirement. It surely needed a thorough knowledge of the builder's art to construct a tomb-chamber with an Egyptian vault, which could resist for centuries the enormous pressure of an earthen mound some ten or fifteen metres high! The tomb-chambers of the Bosphoran kurgans are nearly always found intact, though stripped of their contents. If many or most of the Panticapaeon tomb-chambers are at present in ruins, it is not the fault of the Bosphoran architects, but of the inhabitants of modern Kerch, who have been attracted by the excellent dressed stone and by the iron and bronze clamps.

"I may observe, before taking leave of these buildings, that when I have made my way down the corridor of Tsarski Kurgan, with its Egyptian vault, when I have passed from the corridor to the tomb-chamber with its rounded corbelled vault, when I have visited the Yüz-Oba tomb-chambers, I have always been moved by a feeling of deep

respect and of lively admiration for the builders of these impressive and mysterious monuments. It is greatly to be regretted that their civil and religious architecture has completely disappeared."

Or listen to pages 80 ff:

"It must be recognized, therefore, that the engravers of the Panticapaeon dies were no mere imitators. Masters of Greek craftsmanship, endowed with Greek creative genius, they invented original types which are true emblems of the Bosphoran state, half-Greek, half-Thracian, with strong Iranian influence. In painting, the art is of the same partially local kind. True that those masterpieces of decorative art, the painted wooden and sculptured coffins, may have been imported from Greece or Asia Minor: I do not believe it, but owing to the scarcity of wood-carvings from classical times, I cannot offer proof. But examine the wall paintings in the houses and tombs of this period. We have a whole series of these, partly from Panticapaeum, partly from the Taman peninsula; I have recently republished them in a special work. These paintings are undoubtedly local work; they were executed on the spot by Greek artists. They follow the Greek fashion, and help us to reconstruct the pre-Pompeian system of mural decoration in Greece. But observe them closely. The house decorations are very like those at Delos. Yet there are important differences. At Panticapaeum, the colour is richer and more various, but the architectural effect is poorer: both characteristics of Oriental art. Study the paintings of the two Taman barrows, Great Bliznitsa and Vasyurinskaya Gora. The latter please by their colour: look at the juxtaposition of the dark blue on the roof with the bright red on the walls. The others follow the tradition of the monumental painting in Greek temples: sober ornamentation of friezes and capitals. But the head of Demeter, on the keystone of the Egyptian vault, is not quite Greek. Compare it with the head of the same goddess in a grave belonging to the first century A. D., and the type will be seen to be the same: this is not Demeter, save in name only; it is really a native deity, the Great Goddess, mother of gods and men.

"I consider myself justified, therefore, in affirming that the state of the Bosphorus was not by any means a group of little Greek towns lost on the shores of the Black Sea and living on what the mother country could send them. It developed an interesting and original form of life. It had the sagacity to invent a semi-Greek constitution, which held the state together for centuries; it contrived to make this form of government popular in Greece, and by means of propaganda issued by its historians, to install Bosphoran tyrants, such as Leucon and Pairisades, in the great gallery of famous statesmen whose names were familiar in the Greek schools. It succeeded in spreading Greek civilization among its Scythian neighbors, and in saturating its non-Greek subjects with that civilization. For centuries it guaranteed the Greek world a cheap and abundant supply of provisions. It transformed wide tracts of steppe into cultivated fields. Finally, it created a vigorous art, which achieved brilliant triumphs, especially in toreutic, and of which I shall speak further in the following chapter.

"In a word, the Bosphorus of the classical Greek period played an important part in the life of the ancient world. The time is past when, in the imagination of cultivated persons, the Greek world was bounded by the shores of Attica and of the Peloponnese. The powers of the Greek genius consisted, above all, in its universality, in its flexibility, in its power of adapting itself to unfamiliar conditions, and of constructing, in foreign surroundings, focuses of civilization, in which whatsoever was strong and fertile in the native life was combined with the eternal creations of Greek intelligence."

And on p. 208, we read:

"The characteristics of South Russian civilization are the same in the classical period as in subsequent centuries: and the types of phenomena are the same. South Russia was always one of the most important centres of civilization. Three main currents are traceable: an eastern current, proceeding from both Iranian and Mesopotamian Asia by two routes, the Caucasus route, and the Russian steppe route; a southern current from Asia Minor and Greece, which brought with it the splendid civilization of Greece; and a western and northern current, by means of which Russia partook in the civilization of central and northern Europe. The three currents met in the Russian steppes, coalesced, and formed a great civilization, quite independent and extremely original, which influenced, in its turn, central and northern Russia, and central Europe as well."

David M. Robinson

- (1) BRUEGEL. BY KURT PFISTER. 8°, 47 PP., 78 PLS. LEIPZIG, INSEL VERLAG, 1921. (2) PIETER BRUEGEL. BY MAX J. FRIEDLAENDER. 4°, 202 PP., 50 PLS., 51 FIGS. BERLIN, PROPYLAEEEN VERLAG, 1921.

These two volumes on the elder Bruegel, both appearing in the same year, and both by German authors, are alike in several respects. They seem to have similar aims, to elucidate and to popularize the art of the great Dutch naturalist. And yet they are in no sense rivals in this respect. Dr. Friedländer's work is more analytical, scholarly; Pfister's is more readable.

Let us, however, review these two books separately.

Herr Pfister offers no new documentary material concerning Pieter Bruegel. He admits in his introduction, "About all that we know of the life and works of the elder

Bruegel is what Carel van Mander informed us twenty-five years after the master's death." (Van Mander's account is given at the end, on p. 36.) The author then briefly sketches the painter's life. In regard to the classification of his works, he states there is no difficulty, because, fortunately, as early as the end of the sixteenth century, Emperor Rudolf II made a comprehensive and permanent collection of Bruegel's works. Also it is now very easy for us to distinguish the works of the elder from the copies made by the younger Bruegel, because of the thorough analysis made by Herr Pfister's predecessors, Bastelaer and de Loo, Romdahl, Hymans, Hausenstein, and Friedländer, to all of whom the present author gives full credit.

What, then, is the purpose or value of Pfister's work? To answer this question we must recall that the authorities just mentioned compiled volumes that were, for the most part, scientific, elaborate, exhaustive, and expensive. Pfister undoubtedly tries to reach a larger public with an attractive, inexpensive volume, written in readable style. In a very clear way he simplifies his material, presents the works chronologically and traces the development of Bruegel's art. Thus, anyone who wishes to know Bruegel, without plodding through a difficult volume, can, with a sense of confidence, and with pleasure, read Pfister's book.

One always wishes to understand the age in which a great man lived. Dr. Friedländer is far more illuminative on this point than Pfister, and yet the latter well emphasizes the condition of the times. Bruegel was formed in a period of war, famine, and pestilence. It was a time, too, of religious doubt. Bruegel felt all this, but his imaginative mind interpreted it in an individual way. Bruegel was a northern Dutchman (more of this in Friedländer's book), with self-reliance. He relied upon none of his contemporaries for interpretation, particularly because they were fast sinking under foreign influence. Yet he respected the art of his forerunners; and when that art was expressive of racial temperament, as was the case with the early illuminators, as well as with Patinir and Bosch, he accepted it.

Pfister, in reaching Bruegel's religious pictures, which come in chronological order after his early drawings and etchings, sees a certain departure from all previous religious work. "Others before him, from Van Eyck to Bosch, held a hieratic conception of religion. Even Bosch, through his horror of hell, was dogmatic." Bruegel was the first to be naturalistic. But Pfister does not take into account, or rather he neglects, the naturalistic outlook of Geertjen tot St. Jans (as in his *St. John in the Wilderness*), who was Bruegel's forerunner. Nevertheless, Bruegel goes sufficiently further to be essentially new in his interpretation.

Herr Pfister very naturally finds Bruegel most at home and enjoying himself in his peasant scenes, weddings and kermesses. But he is right also in saying we cannot consider these early, episodic, allegorical, and proverbic works as expressive of Bruegel's highest achievement. It is as a colorist, and as a naturalist, especially as a landscapist, that Bruegel must be judged.

"There are three pictures," he writes, "which stand out conspicuously in the last years of Bruegel's life, by which we can best judge him, namely: *The Blind Leading the Blind*, in Naples, *The Magpie on the Gallows*, in Darmstadt, and *The Fall of Icarus*, in Brussels." Pfister merely mentions them; we would have liked him to discuss them fully. They are all landscapes of hillsides, forests, and sea. They show the great beauty of nature, yet the tragedy of human history, nature which can be so beautiful, and yet so cruel. Here is the greatness of Bruegel. He could not separate nature from life. Nature he loved. Life he knew to be cruel. He accepted both. "Behold the world in which you live! And how small is man! How pathetic his struggles!" But he leaves the philosophizing to you.

Pfister could have gone further in his criticism. We would have been interested in a few other pictures as well, which are important in Bruegel's career, for instance, *The Adoration*, in Brussels, and the one in Philadelphia, and *The Bird's Nester*, in Vienna.

But Pfister's little book has one great merit. The author's style is unusually clear and simple for a German. While there is no pretense to scholarly research, there is enough original analysis to make the book a welcome contribution.

Dr. Friedländer's volume, as we have said, is more thorough. It appears to be the most comprehensively illustrated work on Bruegel that has been published. The illustrations give us the clue to the author's intention; there is a new emphasis, this time upon the drawings and engravings of the master. And the discussion of these products of Bruegel's art is the most valuable part of the book. Bruegel's sketches throw more light on his travels in France and Italy than has been realized by other authors. Friedländer reproduces numerous heretofore unpublished drawings of Rome, Vienna, the Alps, and places in Italy. But in spite of these proofs of the painter's foreign experiences, it is clear, after all, that the monuments of Italy and of Italian art made little impression upon the Netherlander.

Friedländer also discusses, as thoroughly as need be, Bruegel's masters, Hieronymus Kock and Pieter Koeck. This is a part of the author's interesting survey of the influences acting upon Bruegel's youth. Dr. Friedländer finds, as does Herr Pfister, in the political and religious events of the age, the explanation of much that puzzles us in Bruegel's art; only Dr. Friedländer goes further into history and inquires more deeply of the subconscious influence on Bruegel's character.

And where was Pieter Bruegel born? This is another of the questions which Friedländer tries to solve for us. Van Mander says in the village of Bruegel near Breda. But there were, and still are, two villages of this name, one near Eindhoven, 30 km. south of s'Hertogenbosch, and 50 km. from Breda; and another 70 km. south of Breda in Limburg, which is now called Kleen-en-Groot Breughel. But whichever was the painter's birthplace, it is clear both villages are in what is now the Kingdom of the Netherlands that is, the northern provinces, which were Protestant in feeling.

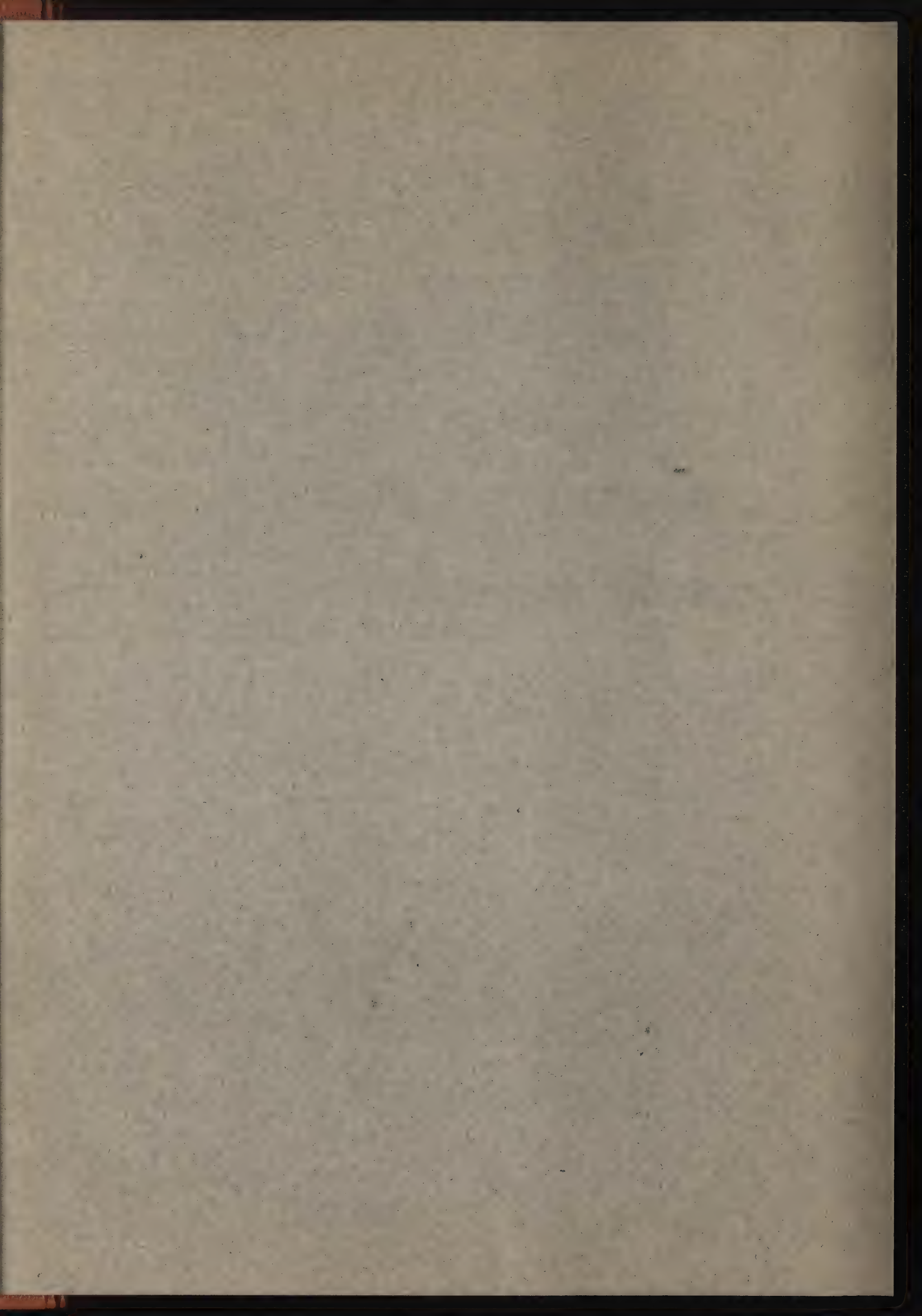
Friedländer adds valuable information about Bruegel's signature. Up to 1559 the painter signed his name "brüghel," and after this date, "Bruegel." The form "Breughel" originated with his son. From this, it should be presumed that the correct form of the great painter's name is that which both our authors use.

Needless to say, Bruegel's technical methods are well discussed, but the author's chapter on the paintings of Bruegel is disappointing. Doubtless Dr. Friedländer felt that Bastelaer and de Loo's work had covered this field sufficiently, but one is always eager for new interpretations.

Friedländer's book is not one to awaken an appreciation of the master's paintings upon the part of a reader not already interested in them. It is not an appeal. Nor does the reader feel that genuine love for, and pleasure in, the contemplation of individual works of art which inspires the great critic. The highest criticism is that which loves to meditate upon things of beauty. This is rare.

Dr. Friedländer, however, has made us more familiar with Pieter Bruegel. That is, perhaps, enough.

Arthur Edwin Bye





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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC. REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912,

Of The Art Bulletin, published quarterly, at Providence, Rhode Island, for October 1, 1922, State of Rhode Island, County of Providence.

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared John Shapley, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of The Art Bulletin, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

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(My commission expires June 30, 1923)

The Art Bulletin

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY PUBLISHED BY THE

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FIG. 2—ELY, CATHEDRAL: PRIOR'S DOORWAY



FIG. 1—FOLIGNO, CATHEDRAL: DOOR ON SOUTH SIDE

The Romanesque Signs of the Zodiac

BY PHILA CALDER NYE



NE of the hitherto unexplained archæological phenomena is the sudden appearance of the signs of the zodiac as a prominent part of church decoration of the twelfth century. Why the signs are used and from what sources they are derived are the chief points for investigation. Everywhere the cycle appears it is evident that the artists follow a set form. The source of this form is the problem of the present study.

In the early twelfth century the signs generally appear alone, as at Vézelay and Autun, either surmounting a decorated tympanum (*Cf.* Fig. 8) or forming the decorative band of an archivolt over a simple arch or portal (*Cf.* Fig. 1). Later the occupations of the months appear either as companion bands or in combination, and in the Gothic period a rich and perfect union of the two is attained. In the Romanesque type the band shows the signs depicted according to a plan so uniform in style and method as to point to a single and definite origin. When we first encounter the cycle it has an air of long usage; here is no novice working out a tentative design, to be copied here and there by imitators of his style and fancies.

In the first place, the position occupied by the decorated band is significant. It sometimes turns above a tympanum, enclosing some pictured scene of importance in the history of the church or community or illustrative of a Biblical event. It is often the crown of the principal portal of a cathedral or church, even when the tympanum decoration is eliminated. Usually, if it is not in the west façade, it is to be found over some other door that is in constant use. If the archivolt decoration portrays other subjects, we sometimes find the zodiacal band relegated to the jambs (*Fig. 2*).

In the second place, the geographical distribution is significant. The signs do not make an early appearance in the extreme north. They are found along the Rhine valley, through France and Italy, and extend eastward to their birthplace in the Euphrates valley, while on the west they reach to Britain.

This leads us to the very definite question: Is there any one antique type of the zodiac which had such a widespread popularity that all the centers of European civilization within this territory would have felt its influence?

Our first impulse is to examine the illuminated manuscripts which have answered so many similar questions. We find that only the early manuscripts make use of the subject, and that in two ways. The earlier, and by far the more popular, method is the use of the single signs as decoration for the calendar pages of devotional books. Such decoration begins during the ninth century and is probably patterned after a copy of the Calendar of Filocalus, which was made at this time (see initial letter). Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, such as the Psalter of Athelstan at the British Museum, and the Psalter of St. Louis at Leyden (*Fig. 3*), occasionally show this treatment. From the eleventh century it appears with increasing regularity, culminating in the elaborate French and Flemish work of the fifteenth century. In the early examples the signs occur mainly as marginal decorations, painted in any convenient space at top, side, or bottom of a page, with sometimes an attempt to place the little picture near the day of the month on which the sun enters the

sign. In other cases the sign forms the decorative motive for the "KL" which heads each page of the calendar. The important point to remember here is that the signs are used singly, one to a page.

The later, less popular, use of the zodiacal signs in manuscript decoration is that of grouping them around a central figure. This arrangement, which may be studied in the eleventh-century Rabanus Maurus manuscript at Montecassino (Fig. 4) or in manuscript No. 7028 at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Fig. 5), is principally reserved for secular volumes treating of astronomical and anatomical subjects.

There are but slight variations in the forms of the zodiacal animals in these two types of manuscript decoration. In neither case is there any indication that the cycle could lend itself to sculptural decoration. Nor do the manuscripts cover so wide a field as do the sculptural examples. So it is unlikely that we can find in the manuscripts the source of inspiration for which we seek. What *their* source of inspiration was becomes evident when we compare with them antique examples like the mosaic from Sentinum or a relief at Modena (Fig. 6). In each we have a central deity surrounded by a band decorated with the zodiacal cycle. The same cycle in the same sort of band is occasionally used to surround the scene of Mithras slaying the bull; and here we touch upon a possible source for the Romanesque type.

Let us return to the question of the geographical distribution of the Romanesque zodiac and see whether that can throw any light on the subject. Recalling the territorial extension assigned above to zodiacal sculpture, one notices that it falls within the boundaries of the Roman Conquest. Is there any possible connection between the Roman Occupation and the use of the signs as a motive for decorative sculpture? Perhaps here we have a solution of the mystery.

It will be remembered that the Roman soldiery was devoted to the worship of Mithras, a cult popular in the Near East and of Persian origin. The earliest records of this belief go back to the days before the separation of the Hindus and Persians. The cult spread through Mesopotamia and Asia Minor, adopting the star-cult of the Chaldæans as an adjunct to the worship of Mithras as god of light. By the time of Alexander its characteristics were fixed, and it reached full maturity during the Roman period. The first artistic representations connected with the cult date from its Grecian popularity, and it was during the Pergamene period that the famous relief of Mithras Tauroctonus originated. Cilician pirates captured by Pompey are said to have introduced the cult at Rome, where it existed among the middle classes, spreading through the army, the mercantile class, and the slaves, and flourishing along the trade routes. Finally the emperors encouraged it, as Mithras was supposed to be personally represented by the ruler, and this wave of popularity lasted until the third century A. D. After that it rose and fell until it was finally wiped out during the fifth century. In the main, the tenets of the cult resembled those of Christianity, and at one time the two beliefs were serious rivals, both having very strong adherents in all parts of Europe. The Mithraic meetings were always held in caverns, so small that each locality of any size had several. The form of all these caverns was the same, a rectangular vaulted room, with an apse opposite the entrance. In this apse was placed the relief of Mithras. The preservation of these reliefs may be accounted for by the cave-like character of the sanctuaries, the popularity of the cult, and the long period of the exercise of the mysteries. The people may have been interested to protect the shrines from the drastic destruction meted out to those of the ordinary Roman gods. At any rate, the Mithraic monuments have been preserved in a number and over an area unparalleled by any other cult of the Roman period.

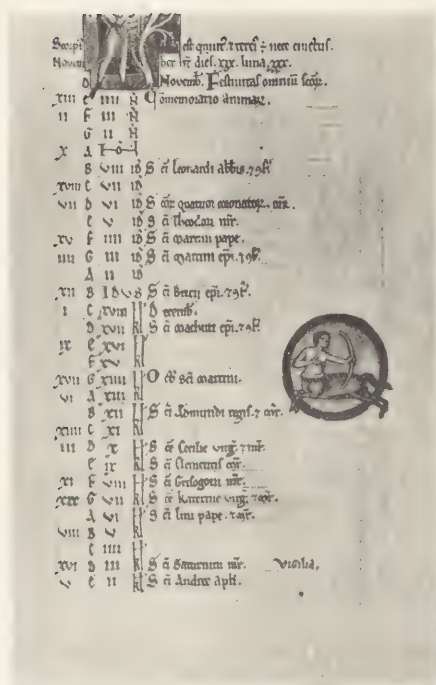


FIG. 3—LEYDEN, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY: PSALTER OF ST. LOUIS, NOVEMBER CALENDAR



FIG. 4—MONTECASSINO, ARCHIVIO: MANUSCRIPT OF RABANUS MAURUS, SIGNS OF THE ZODIAC



FIG. 5—PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE: MANUSCRIPT NO. 7028, FOLIO 154R



FIG. 6—MODENA, BIBLIOTECA ESTENSE: MITHRAIC RELIEF





FIG. 7--WIESBADEN, MUSEUM: ROMAN MITHRAIC RELIEF FROM HEDDERNHEIM



Now the center of interest in a Mithræum was always the relief or statue of the god often shown with the signs of the zodiac as part of the symbolical decoration. These occur as a continuous band, surrounding the god in a circle or oval, as we have indicated above, or arching over the scene of Mithras Tauroctonus. Here then, for the first time, we have a definite arrangement, giving the signs a place of importance, and treating them as a cycle, not as separate entities nor as simple illustrations. They have a definite message to convey, that of the heavens bearing witness to the solemnization of a rite infinitely old, but ever new, as symbolized in this annual repetition. This use of the signs was not a common one. To be sure, it does occur elsewhere, but mainly in Roman work which was probably directly influenced by the Mithras reliefs.

Turn now to the Romanesque portal. Here the signs occur on an archivolt very reminiscent of the Mithraic band, and often, as in the case of the relief of Mithras Tauroctonus, the cycle of signs frames an important composition, occupying a prominent place. In some instances (Figs. 1 and 8) the signs are enclosed in individual frames, such as are to be seen on the great Mithraic reliefs of Karlsruhe and Wiesbaden (Fig. 7). Another significant fact is that there is practically no change in the forms of the symbols. In almost every instance a parallel can be drawn between the Romanesque and the Mithraic work. That the later artists were copyists is shown by an occasional transposition in the order. Some, especially in Britain, misunderstood the meaning of the signs; for we find queer animals introduced as companions to the fishes and their zodiacal brothers; or a sign may be several times repeated (Figs. 2 and 9). But the continuous band is the rule, and this does not derive from the early manuscript forms as we know them. It appears that the Romanesque artists, in their search for illustrative matter suitable for the shape and position of certain of their decorative sculptures, called upon this half-forgotten cult since it had solved similar problems of design. But the strongest of all reasons for drawing upon this source was probably the abundance of accessible Mithraic remains. A glance at the table of contents of Cumont's exhaustive work on the cult of Mithras will show at once that in every center where the Romanesque cycle made an early appearance, late Roman art had provided a Mithræum. England has remains north and south; France has them at points where we find the earliest portal reliefs; Germany the same; Italy and Sicily comply with the rule. Where the Mithræa are found, there the Romanesque sculptor used the signs.

Thus we see that the evidence for our thesis is strong. The signs reappear almost simultaneously throughout the above-mentioned parts of Europe and follow faithfully the last sculptured style in which they were presented. This is a well recognized characteristic in early mediæval art: it is always the late classical style that is copied when later artists revive a form. The Mithraic zodiac fulfilled the requirements of the Romanesque sculptor and furnished him a familiar local model.

A New Roman Tomb-Painting

By A. D. FRASER

A FEW weeks ago a discovery of unusual interest and importance was made by Italian archaeologists not far from the Eternal City. At a point about four miles to the north-west of Rome, close to the Via Trionfale, a party of excavators directed by Dr. Goffredo Bendinelli unearthed a tomb belonging to the third century A. D., the epitaphs on whose sarcophagi show that it was the property of a family of the illustrious, aristocratic Octavian gens. The inscriptions further declare that the tomb was constructed on the occasion of the demise of Octavia Paulina, the six-year-old daughter of a certain Octavius Felix. A complete account of the discovery is soon to be published by Dr. Bendinelli in the official archaeological journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction, the *Notizie degli Scavi*.

Within the tomb was found a well preserved mural painting (Pl. XXV, Fig. 10) representing a scene no less remarkable for its pathos than for its impressiveness, its beauty of design, and for what we may call, in lack of a better term, its humanity. It shows the ushering in of the little Octavia Paulina to an Elysian paradise,¹ where a band of children amuse themselves in the artless occupation of gathering flowers. A pronounced strengthening of belief in the after life had come about in the Roman mind during the second and third centuries of our era, owing to the joint influences of Christianity and Mithraism, as well as to those of various other Oriental cults whose systems were built up around the controlling doctrine of the immortality of the soul. The present picture contains, however, no symbolism or element which may be traced directly to a Christian or Mithraic source—apart, of course, from its obvious manifestation of a belief in the continuity of human life beyond the grave. It seems to be primarily Greek in its conception and execution, but shows, as is natural, several Roman elements in the portrayal of details. The picture which served as the progenitor of the theme here unfolded may well have been the far famed *Nekuia* of the fifth-century Greek artist Polygnotus. A sculptured scene of somewhat similar general conception is to be found in a pedimental relief until recently in a private collection in Munich.² Here Hermes introduces the spirit of a dead woman to a party of women in the lower world. But the element of joy and gladness is altogether lacking; the scene is laid in the Mourning Fields of Hades.

The dimensions of the painting are, roughly, three by six feet. Four series of transverse cracks slightly mar the regularity of the surface, but otherwise the picture is almost in its original form, even to the extent of having retained its brilliant coloring. The artist has been reasonably successful in presenting a proper perspective, though the forms of the larger blossoms stand out too prominently in the foreground, and the effects of light and shade are not all that might be desired. On the extreme left of the scene, a winged Eros—small, and of a late type—drives a miniature chariot drawn by two doves, the attribute of his mother Venus, and holds in his arms the limp and senseless body of the deceased Octavia. The car is apparently of the old-fashioned, traditional Attic type, with four spokes to the wheel; the bodies of the doves are light colored, with darker heads and wings. This group is facing in a direction three-quarters towards the left, but is seemingly about to execute a half turn to the right close upon the heels of the god Hermes who is leading the way. The latter appears in his common rôle of Psychopompos, Conductor of

¹Cf. the syncretic catacomb painting with the ushering in of Vibia, Wilpert, *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms*, Pl. 132.

²Reinach, *Répertoire des Reliefs Grecs et Romains*, Vol. 1, 42.



FIG. 9 -- KILPECK, CHURCH: CARVING FROM WEST DOOR

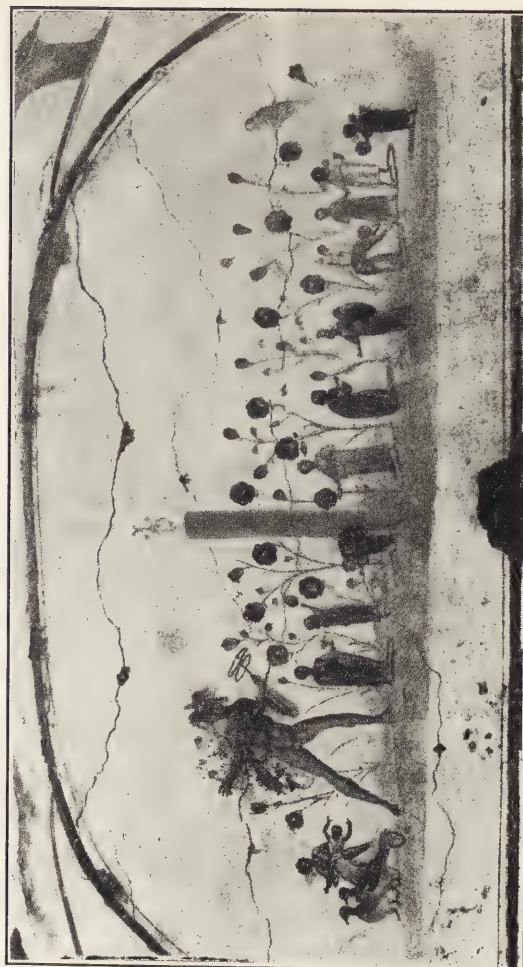


FIG. 10 -- ROME: A NEWLY DISCOVERED TOMB-PAINTING



FIG. 8 -- VÉZELAY, ABBEY CHURCH: WEST PORTAL



Souls, and looks, to judge by his attitude, as though he were in the act of clearing the road of obstacles which are, notwithstanding, not altogether apparent. This motive of opening a path is occasionally met in Etruscan tomb-paintings, as in the scene from the Tomba Campana,¹ where a figure, ordinarily considered to be the Etruscan Charun, leads the way for a dead youth and, for an obvious purpose, bears an axe on his shoulder. Hermes, in the present instance, is represented wearing a winged cap and with his chlamys thrown over his shoulder and left arm, holding in his left hand the orthodox *caduceus* or wand, bearing its two serpents with confronting heads. He is of the tall and slender Lysippic type which is reminiscent of the Resting Hermes of Naples.² His attitude, however, is strikingly dramatic and almost sprawling, and recalls the pose of Marsyas in the famous group of Myron³ and, in a less degree, the satyr's somewhat similar attitude on the Praxitelean slab from Mantinea in the National Museum at Athens.⁴

A little in advance of the group of children picking flowers there stands—the fifth figure from the right—a form which might at first sight be taken for one of them. She is indeed surpassed in stature by almost all the children in the painting; but that she has attained to maturity is clearly evidenced by her relatively slender figure and by her head, which is remarkably small in proportion to the height of her body. She stands almost fronting the group of newcomers to Elysium, with her right hand outstretched. Her head is surmounted by a helmet bearing the stiffly erect Roman plume, and a round shield is borne on her left arm. This must undoubtedly be the goddess Athena, about to welcome the soul of Octavia to the region of the blest. She is, therefore, in all probability, to be identified here as Athena Kourotrophos, the fosterer and the protectress of the young, a title under which she was worshipped in ancient times in several of the Greek states. But the representations of this goddess as a welcomer of souls to the nether world appear to be very rare. Occasionally, in Greek vase-paintings⁵ Athena is seen accompanying Hercules on his way to heaven—a *motif* which may have given rise, later on, to this conception of a more intimate association on her part with the world of the departed. On the famous Igel Monument near Trèves,⁶ which is contemporary in date with our tomb-painting, Athena appears in one of the reliefs as a supervisor of the freeing of Andromeda, an action which seems to be emblematic of the release of the human soul from its corporeal chains. On another panel of the tomb the same goddess is depicted with outstretched hand, greeting Hercules on his arrival at his new place of abode. In the scene before us, as Octavia Paulina is apparently represented as being still inanimate, it may be that the artist here regards Athena as a revivifying agency, the contact of whose hand will restore the dead child to life eternal. It is to be observed, furthermore, that the pose of Athena is here very similar, *mutatis mutandis*, to her attitude in the Frankfurt⁷ statue, which almost certainly belongs to the Satyr group of Myron. This, taken in conjunction with what has been said regarding the pose of Hermes, suggests, though it would be absurd to press the point, that the author of the tomb-painting may have had this Myronic group in mind, and consciously or unconsciously imitated the original staturary.

The figures of the nine living children in the group are well executed, and they are no longer, as in earlier art, simply miniature men and women. Generally they are garbed

¹Poulsen, *Etruscan Tomb Paintings*, Fig. 1.

²Dickins, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, Fig. 28.

³Gardner, *Greek Sculpture*, Fig. 65.

⁴*Ibid.*, Fig. 102.

⁵As, e. g., on a red-figured amphora in Munich: Furtwängler-Reichhold, Pl. 109, 2.

⁶Mrs. A. Strong, *Apotheosis and After Life*, Pls. XXIX, XXX.

⁷Gardner, *op. cit.*, Fig. 64.

in the *toga praetexta*, the ordinary out-of-door raiment of Roman children of the better classes. Probably, however, the two who walk hand-in-hand near the right of the picture wear tunics only. The right-hand child of this pair, as well as the youngster who is next to Hermes, holds a bell-shaped flower (asphodel?) in his hand. All the remaining buds and blossoms in the picture are, presumably, roses, though growing on stalks very unlike rose bushes. This flower, it may be noted, is the floral symbol of Eros himself, who here plays so prominent a part in the action.

In the center of the group appears a tall pillar, the column of Hecate, which is surmounted by a device plant-like in form, but probably the triple torch of Hecate which is sometimes conceived of as furnishing light in the nether world. But here an artificial illumination of this sort seems wholly unnecessary, as the entire scene is brilliantly lighted from above after a fashion which recalls the lines of Virgil in his charming description of the Elysian Fields (*Aeneid*, VI, 640, 641):

*Largior hic campos aether et lumine vestit
Purpureo, solemque suum, sua sidera norunt.*

The artist has attempted to depict the shadows cast by the human figures, but has hardly attained to scientific accuracy or maintained consistency in respect to the direction in which the shadows fall. A curious feature is the ring-shaped form of shadow which is thrown at the feet of at least four or five of the children. While this may be accidental, it would almost appear to be a naïve way of portraying the serpent, emblem of life and, particularly in this head-to-tail attitude, of immortality.

It is owing to his alate form even more than to his youthful nature—and hence companionship with children—that Eros here makes his appearance as a conveyer of the dead. The merit of any winged creature as a vehicle of transit for the soul was appreciated by the ancients from the most remote times. And so we have harpies or “soul-birds,” so often represented on Egyptian mummy-cases, winged horses and winged chariots, eagles, peacocks, griffins, etc., portrayed on the tombs.¹ In Roman art, as early as the time of Augustus, one sees the altar in the Cortile del Belvedere of the Vatican bearing in relief a scene of Julius Caesar’s translation to the realms of bliss in a chariot drawn by winged steeds.² Figures of Eros appear, moreover, in the tomb of Diocletian in his palace of Spalato, where Hermes Psychopompos likewise is shown. A sepulchral relief from the urn of Cossutia Prima represents Eros driving a quadriga.³ In our picture, it would appear that a double effect is sought by the introduction of the winged doves, in association with the winged god, as vehicles of the soul’s transmigration.

There is a conscious effort, I think, on the author’s part so to group the whole as to secure a pyramidal or pediment-like effect, which is very suggestive of Greek artistic ideas. The column of Hecate stands almost exactly midmost of the party, and the relatively gigantic figure of Hermes only partially interferes with the harmony of the whole. The smallest of the animate objects, the doves, are placed on the extreme left, while the opposite extremity of the picture is occupied by the tiniest of the children. The large, fully blown flowers on the right of the pillar are also arranged in a plane which ascends towards the center of the scene. If, finally, we include the doves, we find that there are seven living beings on either side of the central column. Such a scheme of grouping is due, manifestly, to design and not to accident.

¹Mrs. A. Strong, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

²Reinach, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, 398.

³*Ibid.*, Vol. II, 671.





ROME, MUSEO BORGHESE: FRONT OF THE BORGHESE-LOUVRE SARCOPHAGUS

Another Sidamara Sarcophagus

By JOHN SHAPLEY

THE sarcophagi sometimes known as the Sidamara¹ sarcophagi, but now commonly called the Asiatic sarcophagi and subdivided into an earlier group that is Lydian and a later group to which the Sidamara sarcophagus itself belongs,² are now quite familiar to American students. The American discovery³ at Sardis in 1913, under favorable conditions for its reconstruction and dating, of a new and clinching example of the Lydian group has aroused in this country a wide interest in the study of these intermediaries between ancient and mediæval art. Fresh from the reading of a recent article in this magazine⁴ and, in proof sheets, of an account of the new Sardis sarcophagus prepared for, and since published in, the introductory volume of the Sardis publications,⁵ what was the surprise of Professor Robinson and myself to see in broad view, though "skyped," on opposite walls of Room I of the Museo Borghese, Rome, two reliefs (Pls. XXVI, XXVII) which were obviously of the Sidamara group but which we had never encountered in the literature of the subject. A few simple comparisons and measurements, for which the direction of the collection kindly supplied a ladder and men, showed me that the reliefs were probably the long sides of a sarcophagus the ends of which are in the Louvre, where they are exhibited in the Galerie Mollien and bear the numbers 1500 (the end with Homer, Pl. XXVIII) and 1497 (the end with the tomb-portal, Pl. XXIX). Accordingly, on revisiting Paris, I consulted M. Michon—whose kindness had long before been proved and who happened to be not only the curator concerned but also the scholar who had first identified and subsequently most thoroughly published the Louvre pieces—and was able to study the ends and make sure of their connection with the Borghese sides.

The cover of the divided sarcophagus has not, and probably will not, come to light. Between the Borghese and the Louvre collections, however, the whole trough is preserved, with the important exception that its reliefs are sadly mutilated and restored, and with the unimportant one, to the living at least, that it is bottomless. As an example of the sarcophagi of the Sidamara group in the narrower sense, that is, as opposed to the Lydian sarcophagi, this sarcophagus reconstituted is surpassed in completeness by but two examples, both in the Ottoman Museum, Constantinople, from Sidamara and Selefkeh respectively—unless one should consider as a third a sarcophagus at the Villa Mattei, Rome, belonging to the arcaded group that Stohlman⁶ has dubbed *sub-Sidamara*, and boasting, though like its rival it is without cover, a trough which has not been broken apart and dispersed, an advantage, however, which is offset by its lack of decoration on the back. The Borghese-Louvre sarcophagus, as it seems appropriate, distinctive, and convenient to call the subject of this paper, is important both for its iconography and for

¹Th. Reinach's advocacy of the spelling based upon epigraphic evidence, "Sidamaria" (*Monuments et Mémoires Piot*, Vol. X, 1903, p. 91, note 1), has not availed to displace the shorter form in the literature dealing with the subject.

²The nomenclature and subdivision have already been discussed in these pages in an article by Morey (*The Art Bulletin*, Vol. IV, pp. 64-70).

³Reported by Butler in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. XVII, 1913, pp. 475 ff.

⁴Morey, *op. cit.*

⁵Butler, *Sardis I*, pp. 135-139.

⁶*American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. XXV, 1921, pp. 223-232.

its ornament. It makes, for instance, with its Apollo a valuable contribution to the iconography of the Asiatic sarcophagi. Its Homer takes a prominent, because unambiguous, place in relationship to the series of dignified old men masquerading under the various aliases of poet, philosopher, lawgiver, orator, rhetorician, pedagogue, deceased, or what not. Its rich ornament, with elaborate moldings, curved entablature, and coloristic effect, bears on the complex architectural problems of the Asiatic sarcophagi.

An important recent investigation of the sequence of these sarcophagi is summarized in the chronological table of them which Professor Morey has just published in the current number of the *American Journal of Archaeology*.¹ He inserts the Louvre ends among the examples from the first quarter of the third century. If this dating is correct the Borghese-Louvre sarcophagus is one of our very earliest Sidamara sarcophagi. And favorable arguments can be found. This is the only Sidamara sarcophagus known that keeps the curved entablature (vestigial, as it is) of the older Lydian sarcophagi. Certain other details, such as the egg-and-dart (with dart not yet supplanted by foliage) even on impost-block and tomb-portal bespeak this early a date. In fact, in its whole architectural decoration the sarcophagus is more closely related to the Lydian sarcophagi than any other of the Sidamara group that has yet come to light. On the other hand, its figures seem late. This may be because they more truly represent contemporary figure sculpture than do the figures of other coeval sarcophagi on which archaizing imitation of various earlier Hellenistic types and even types of the fourth century B. C. (perhaps, indeed, as seen though the eyes of the Hadrianic period) is usual. In any case the Borghese-Louvre sarcophagus with its diverse relationships makes the Asiatic series of sarcophagi a more compact unit.

The two ends in the Louvre have already enjoyed a considerable literature. They figure in the repertoires of Bouillon,² Clarac,³ and Reinach,⁴ and in the successive Louvre catalogues, the genealogy of which one can trace back from the issue of 1922.⁵ No adequate reproductions have been published, however. Old drawings, inaccurate but somewhat attractive because of their elimination of certain of the defacements, have been handed along from author to author until the present. One of these is reproduced on the front cover of this magazine, the other as the tailpiece of this article. The identification of the two reliefs as fragments of a sarcophagus of the Asiatic series is due to Michon. First, he called them to the attention of Strzygowski⁶ and of Th. Reinach⁷ (after whose mentions they appear in the periodic lists of the Asiatic sarcophagi, as in that of Muñoz);⁸ subsequently he himself gave them their fullest publication to date.⁹

Meanwhile, the long sides of the sarcophagus, it seems little less than a miracle to relate, have all but completely escaped attention, though they have been, if anything, more accessible, and are far more conspicuous and important than the ends. They have not been mentioned at all in the many studies of the Asiatic sarcophagi, and, as a matter

¹Vol. XXVII, 1923, p. 69 f.

²Bouillon, tome III, *personn. grecs*, pl. 24, is cited by Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, Vol. II of Text, under number 350: presumably Bouillon has this end only, the end with the tomb-portal, but I have not had access to a copy of the book to verify this reference.

³*Musée de Sculpture*, Vol. II: Text, nos. 253 and 350; Plates, no. 226.

⁴Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, Vol. I *Clarac de poche*, p. 116.

⁵*Musée National du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines, Catalogue Sommaire des marbres antiques*.

⁶*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, Vol. X, 1901, p. 726.

⁷*Monuments et Mémoires Piot*, Vol. IX, 1902, p. 209.

⁸*Nuovo Bullettino*, Vol. XI, 1905, p. 84.

⁹*Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, Vol. XXVI, 1906, pp. 80-83.

of fact, the sum total of their literature, as far as I have been able to find, is contained (apart from a merely numerical note)¹ in two brief notices, so brief, in fact, that I can quote them here in full. The first is in Venturi's summary catalogue of the contents of the Villa Borghese,² where all the contents of each of the rooms are briefly listed:

"LXXV. *Due bassorilievi raffiguranti Apollo e le Muse.*
Opera dell'epoca degli Antonini."

The other is in Dütschke's book on the Ravenna sarcophagi,³ in which he states his belief (not shared by scholars today) that the theory of an Asiatic origin for the Sidamara sarcophagi will fall with the further discovery of Italian examples:

"*Ein solches italisches Exemplar aber glaube ich, abgesehen von dem des Palazzo Riccardi, für dessen kleinasiatische Herkunft bis jetzt kein Beweis erbracht ist, in den beiden Langseiten eines Musensarcophags der Villa Borghese in Rom zu sehen.*"

It is scarcely necessary now to comment that both of these writers are in error: the sarcophagus is not of Antonine date (Venturi), nor is it of Italic type (Dütschke), notwithstanding its deceptive likeness to the Riccardi sarcophagus, concerning which Dütschke's exception seems, according to Morey,⁴ to be well taken.

The literature devoted to the whole subject of the Asiatic sarcophagi and to the various examples is now very extensive. It is unnecessary for me, however, to do more than to refer, for a full account of what has been published, to a forthcoming book, in which Professor Morey will provide an exhaustive monograph on these sarcophagi and, I hope, supplement my hasty treatment of the Borghese-Louvre sarcophagus. It is with access to the material which he has gathered and with his never-failing help that I am encouraged to offer the modest contribution of a description of this sarcophagus.

As nearly as can be judged, the original dimensions of the trough of the sarcophagus which the adduction of the Borghese sides allows us to reconstitute were, length, c. 2.2 m., width, c. 1.1 m. The height cannot be established because of the indeterminable loss at the base; but it must have been about the same as the width. We may safely call the relief in which Apollo figures the front of the sarcophagus (Pl. XXVI). Its present gross dimensions run 2.26 m. long by 1.02 m. high. Extensive restorations at each end seem to have filled the relief out to not less than its original length. But, quite apart from restoration, the front was appreciably longer than the back, a fact of some significance and of curious consequences: we shall return to it below. The whole column at the extreme left of the front is obviously a restoration. At this corner, therefore, attaches the end which has retained the column at its extreme right (Pl. XXIX), namely the end with the tomb-portal.⁵ Since the carved figures of the deceased on the covers of ancient sarcophagi, like the dining figures of the living on the ancient couch, commonly recline on their left

¹This occurs in Bie, *Die Musen in der antiken Kunst*, p. 58, note 2, where he is listing the sarcophagi of his type II, the Muses with Apollo: "II 2 v. Borghese: M.-D. 3283." Expanded this means: "Type II, number 2, in the Villa Borghese, numbered 3283 in the collection of material gathered by Matz and subsequently by Duhn for the corpus of ancient sarcophagi which Robert finally undertook to publish under the auspices of the Imperial German Archaeological Institute, Berlin."

²Venturi, *Il Museo e la Galleria Borghese*, p. 21.

³Dütschke, *Ravennatische Studien*, p. 129.

⁴"Nr. LXXV."

⁵*American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. XXVII, 1923, p. 70.

⁶Misled by the Montferrand sarcophagus in the Hermitage, Petrograd, Th. Reinach (*op. cit.*, p. 209, note 2) printed the erroneous opinion, "*L'un des fragments provient d'une grande face.*" Following him unfortunately, Michon (*op. cit.*, p. 81, note 3) says, "*Semble la partie droite d'une grande face,*" which, however, quite independently of the Borghese sides, a glance at the architectural decoration shows to be impossible.

sides, hence with their heads to our right, we may conveniently call this left end the foot of the sarcophagus. For it the dimensions given by Michon¹ are 1. m. wide by 0.99 m. high. This end has forfeited the left-hand column and fits, therefore, to the back (Pl. XXVII), to which the columns of both extremities are attached with but minor loss. The present gross dimensions of the back run 2.13 m. long by 1. m. high. For the remaining end, the head (Pl. XXVIII), as we can call it, on which the almost total loss of the right-hand column harmonizes with our reassembling, the dimensions given by Michon are 1.04 m. wide by 0.99 m. high.

The condition of the reliefs throughout cannot but be described as distressing. As objects found before the days of modern curatorship, they have been long used as decorative pieces (those in the Louvre were used to decorate the east façade of the Villa Borghese)² and thus subjected to such weathering, mutilation, restoration, and so forth, as have not been the lot of other Sidamara sarcophagus fragments of more recent discovery. The two pieces in the Villa Borghese are now heavily encumbered with plaster and white-wash, which, however confusing to the student, give them indeed a more attractive appearance than that of the Louvre fragments, which, it must be confessed, seem to call for refreshing by some such treatment to make them more presentable. With the reliefs in their present condition it is impossible for anyone to see precisely how much is plaster and how much is marble or marble veneered with plaster. In general, the more susceptible projecting parts, especially faces, attributes, and extended limbs, have been damaged or broken away; and the smoothing over of roughened but intact parts makes the condition of the reliefs seem more ragged than it actually is. Likewise, unless one looks closely at the well preserved parts, the presence of the smoothed, plastered parts makes the remaining original workmanship seem poorer than it actually was.

Michon, who has been the only one to publish an opinion on the question, thought the marble of the Louvre ends Italian. Our power of distinguishing and locating marbles is at present inadequate to admit of a final decision on this point. It has sometimes been too great a temptation to see evidence for a favored theory in the kind of marble used. "Proconnesian" has been worked overtime, perhaps justly, but without proof. With many of the ancient quarries that might compete for consideration (particularly the Asiatic ones, from which considerations of topography make it evident that the marble of many of the Sidamara sarcophagi came) not even located, much less explored, it is premature for us systematically to deny or to allot each vagrant marble to a place of origin. Furthermore, the similarity of marbles from different quarries and the variety from the same quarry set a problem which is very complex.

The technical evolution of Mediterranean sculpture in stone from the age of Augustus to the age of Constantine lies in the gradual encroachment of the drill upon the hereditary province of the chisel. On the Borghese-Louvre sarcophagus the chisel was used for the bases and spiral flutings of the columns, the conches, oves, and other less intricate decorative features. But the rest of the architectural ornament, especially the foliation, clearly shows the typical deep borings and resultant coloristic effect produced by the drill. The finish of the figures seems to have been divided about equally between the two tools: they were used in combination. On the Homer (Pl. XXVIII), for instance, one can discern the use of both on the upraised hand. Nothing could be more characteristic than the way

¹Although my own measurements do not exactly agree, and Clarac has still others (in each case, no doubt, because of the somewhat ambiguous plastering), it seems best to give what may be termed the official net dimensions, as published by Michon.

²Michon, *op. cit.*, p. 80, note 2.



ROME: MUSEO BORGHESI: BACK OF THE BORGHESI-LOUVRE SARCOPHAGUS



the drill is suddenly brought into play to get the exaggerated shadows between the fingers: this is distinctly seen on the outer hand of each of the figures beside the tomb-portal (Pl. XXIX); the woman's fingers are broken away, thus revealing the great depth of the drill-holes between them at their springing. A comparison of these borings with others on the adjoining architecture, such as, for example, those above the conch, shows that the *marmorarius* had drills of different sizes available, just as he had by inherited practice chisels of different sizes. What now remains of the original hair is deeply and thoroughly drilled with these varying drills. For the drapery the choice between chisel and drill does not depend on the width or the direction of the fold but on the depth of shadow desired. The shadow-producing folds are those which are deep relatively to their width and which could therefore be more readily achieved by the drill.

The effect of the reliefs remaining from the Borghese-Louvre sarcophagus is impaired not only by the loss along their lower edges but also by the loss, along with the cover to which it is regularly attached on sarcophagi of this type, of a projecting cornice which should crown the architectural decoration of the reliefs. With the field cut down thus the *ædiculæ* and figures are left disproportionately large.

In view of the importance of the monument I have felt that a detailed description must be given. Although the architectural decoration is in some ways more important, I follow custom in describing the figures first.

The five figures of the front (Pl. XXVI) are framed in three *ædiculæ* and the two interspaces between them. All stand on the same level and are on the same scale. Apollo in the middle is flanked by two Muses on either side, the other five Muses being on the back (Pl. XXVII). As Bie¹ shows by an accumulation of monumental and literary evidence, the elaboration of a set of individual functions and corresponding attributes for each of the nine Muses came very tardily in antiquity and the association of a certain Hesiodic name with each function or attribute was never rigorously established for the whole nine. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that there is no thorough-going correlation between attributes and statuary types. Even within the narrow range of the Asiatic sarcophagi the same statuary type appears with different attributes. In what follows, therefore, it is for our present convenience rather than with any certainty of the original intention that a definite function and a Hesiodic name is given to each figure according to the attribute she now carries: for this reason it matters very little to us, just as it would have mattered very little to the *marmorarius*, whether, through restoration or otherwise, the attributes are interchanged or not.

All the Muses wear the chiton and the himation. The former always reaches to the ground, and it, therefore, partly conceals the feet. Before restoration, which has frequently provided it with long tight sleeves covering the forearm, it usually had, as far as my somewhat hasty examination of preserved parts could show, wide sleeves reaching about to the elbows. The Muses wear soft nondescript shoes with thick soles. Their curly hair, unadorned, is combed back over the ears and gathered in a knot on the back of the head. With one exception (Polymnia) they stand very nearly in full face view. Their heads are turned in varying degrees to look toward the middle figure on either relief. Though the shoulders remain practically horizontal, the weight is borne noticeably on one leg (*Standbein*). The other leg (*Spielbein*) with bent knee shows through the drapery. Although the types are so generalized that the numbers do not indicate iconographic accuracy, I give each Muse her number in the list of types made out by Bie in his book

¹*Die Musen in der antiken Kunst*, supplemented by his article on the same subject, s. v., *Musen*, in *Roschers Lexikon der Mythologie*, Vol. II, pp. 3256 ff.

just cited. They derive from Hellenistic sculpture and are repeated on three other Muse sarcophagi of the Asiatic series (British Museum, London; Kaiser-Friedrich Museum, Berlin; Villa Mattei, Rome).

In the left terminal *ædicula* of the front (Pl. XXVI) stands the Muse of History, Clio (Bie's type two, alpha, though her restored right hand is not, as usual, on her breast). Her chiton is girdled high with a narrow cord-like cincture. Her himation is draped over both shoulders and the end that falls from her right shoulder is carried across in front in a thick mass that wraps about her left wrist and supports her right forearm. Her weight rests on her right leg, toward which her body is turned slightly, while her head is turned in the other direction. Although the hands, like the face, are restored, the identifying attribute, the rotulus held in her left hand, remains to make our naming easy.

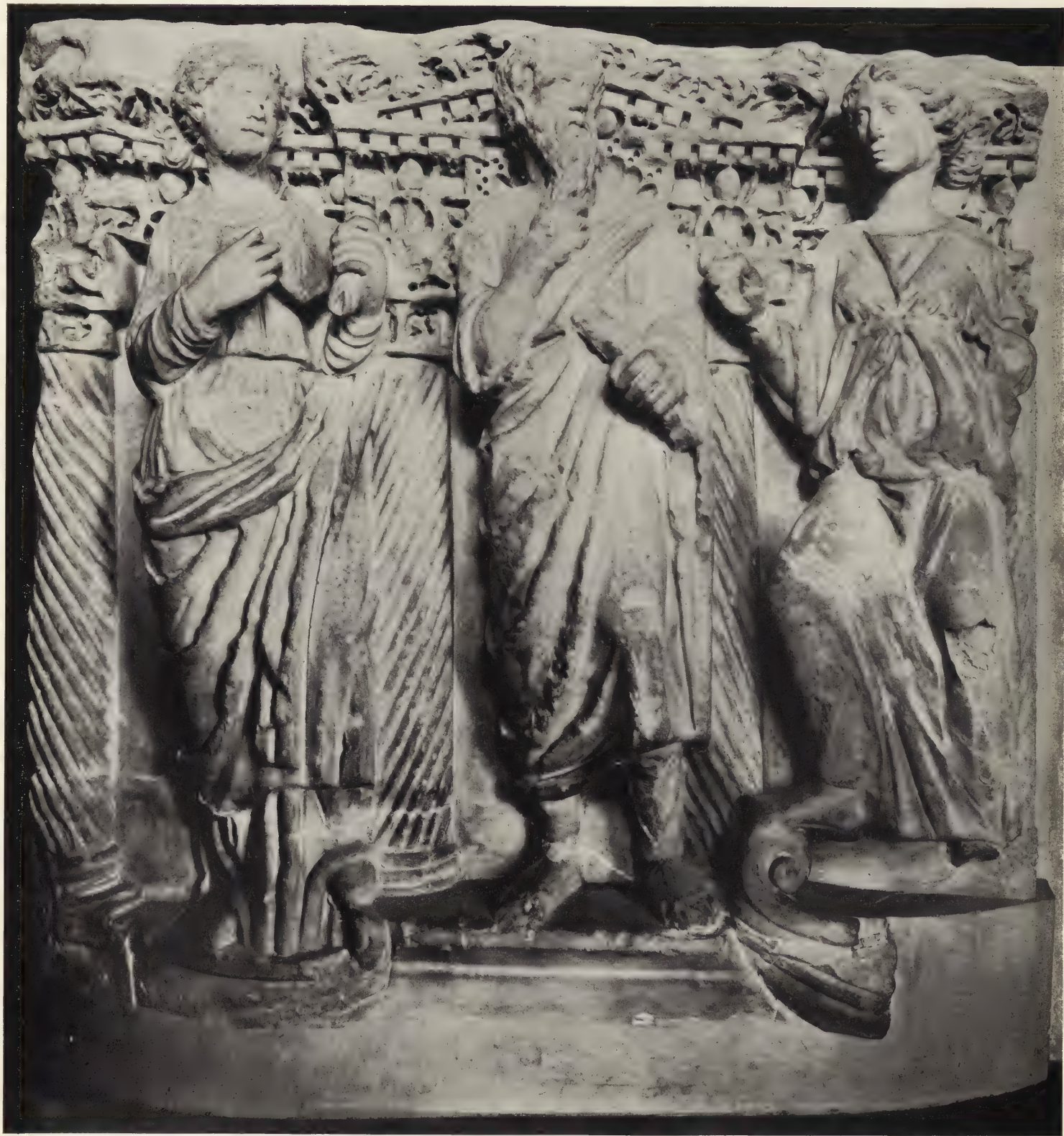
In the left interspace stands the Muse of Music, Euterpe (Bie's type one, eta). Her chiton is girdled by a wide belt with seamed edges and scroll embroidery. The himation hangs down the back pendant from each shoulder where it is knotted; the corners hang down to the belt in front. The restoration of the sleeved forearms holding each a pipe is not convincing in detail. The pose of the figure is similar to that of Clio, but Euterpe is a little taller and she turns her head more sharply to the right.

In the middle *ædicula* the succession of the Muses is interrupted by Apollo *Musagetes* playing the lyre (Bie's type one, epsilon, a muse type occasionally assumed by Apollo). He is turned to the right in three-quarters view, nude to the hips save for his left shoulder, while over his right shoulder his long hair hangs. With extensive restorations, the most unpleasant features of which are the solidifying of the hair on top of the head and the emphasizing of the conspicuously wooden right arm and hand playing the lyre, he stands firmly on his right leg, his left foot being raised to rest on the plinth of the adjoining column base. He wears no chiton. The himation is draped around his hips and only an end is carried up to be thrown over his left shoulder from behind; from his hips it falls nearly to the ankles, which like the feet are bare as now restored, but it leaves exposed his upraised leg to the knee, because it is caught up on the thigh to support the lyre, which rests against his left shoulder.

In the right interspace stands looking toward Apollo the Muse of Comedy, Thalia (Bie's type three, lambda, which, however, occurs more commonly reversed). A narrow girdle gathers the chiton beneath her breasts. The himation is thrown back over her left shoulder, carried low on her right side, and hung doubled in front from a heavy roll above her hips. In her right hand she holds the comic mask, in her left hand the *pedum*. The bending of her right leg is accompanied by a freer curve of the body than the others have.

In the right terminal *ædicula* is the Tragic Muse, Melpomene (Bie's type three, beta). The pose of the body and the girdled chiton are analogous to those of Euterpe. The himation, however, is different: it is massed in heavy folds over the left shoulder and arm. The much restored head is different too in consequence of its being turned like all the rest toward the middle. On the breast may have been a diminutive Gorgoneion. The attributes, as restored, are the tragic mask in her left hand and the short sword—really no more than a dagger—in her right.

Passing on around the corner (originally; now we must pass from Rome to Paris) to the head of the sarcophagus (Pl. XXVIII), we find but three figures narrowly confined in an *ædicula* and flanking interspaces. The sequence of the Muses is again interrupted, this time by a figure of Homer attended by the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (there are not sufficient attributes for distinguishing between the latter two figures). The three figures are accommodated to the more restricted quarters by being made on a smaller scale than



PARIS, LOUVRE: HEAD OF THE BORGHESE-LOUVRE SARCOPHAGUS



those of the front and back of the sarcophagus. To raise them to the same approximate height they are elevated on a continuous podium, which cuts across the column bases and projects sufficiently to give the figures a footing; to the right and left the projection takes the form of the prow of a ship seen in profile.

In the left interspace the personified poem stands in full face view, and somewhat awkwardly because her left knee, being in full face, is but slightly bent though the foot is raised on the curl of the prow. She turns her face, clumsily repaired, toward the Homer. Her chiton, long like those of the Muses, is girdled high but the girdle concealed by a fold of the chiton pulled up through it. The himation appears on her left shoulder, swings low on her right side, and hangs from a roll that runs diagonally across her abdomen up to her left arm. The restored forearms and hands are awkward and meaningless as they now appear, both raised, the left holding an end of drapery.

The Homer forms a welcome break in the series of youthful feminine types, to which the Apollo did not constitute a noticeable exception. The austere aged figure, with shaggy hair and long beard, happens to be well preserved. Visible on his right breast, shoulder, and arm, is the chiton; otherwise his body is closely wrapped in the himation, which reaches to his shins. The feet are sandaled. His left knee is bent. His body is posed rather easily, in full front view, and he looks slightly to the right. His exposed right forearm is raised and the hand grasps the beard; his left hand, barely projecting from the himation tightly holds a rotulus.

The other personification, resting her weight on her left leg (the foot now broken away below the drapery), plants her raised right foot on the curl of the prow. This whole leg and foot are in profile and the other leg is turned somewhat in the same direction. The torso is in full face but the head, heavily restored, is turned toward the Homer again. Her right hand likewise is raised toward him in the gesture of speech (which was probably the gesture also of the figure opposite). Her left arm, much of which is concealed by the drapery, has lost the wrist and hand, which evidently projected directly forward; it was probably restored and the restoration lost too.

Again we round the corner (and find ourselves back in Rome), to return to the Muses (Pl. XXVII), the remaining five of which are arranged like the five figures of the sarcophagus front. Those in the *ædiculæ*, however, are slightly smaller, each *ædicula* having a podium which supports the diminished figure as well as the two columns whose pedestals it supplants.

In the left terminal *ædicula* stands the Muse of the Chorus, Terpsichore (Bie's type one, gamma). Although her pose is in no way exceptional, her right knee bent, her head turned toward the middle, the anatomy seems to be understood unusually well. The himation is worn in the standard way, twice over her left shoulder and once under her right arm. Her right hand (it seems unlikely that the motive is one that would come to a restorer's mind entirely unsuggested although the hand, one cannot fail to see, is restored) has pulled out from below and wrapped itself in some of the himation that doubled passes diagonally across the front of the body. Her left hand holds the lyre firmly supported against her left side and arm. The instrument seems to be attached like a quiver or sword by a strap hanging diagonally from the opposite shoulder, for this reason it might be called a *phorminx*.

In the left interspace is the Muse of Love, Erato (Bie's type one, beta). Although her legs are the reverse of the preceding figure's, body and head are in nearly the same position. Peculiar is the narrow piece of the himation, presumably the end that would normally fall down behind, that is brought forward around her right arm and pulled across

cornerwise down to her left wrist, thus cutting the usual diagonal folds at right angles. Her right hand, restored as usual, is raised to her breast; her left rests on the lyre, crowded in between her and the adjoining column, and resting on its plinth. The instrument is larger than the two already mentioned: perhaps it could be called a cithara.

The middle *ædícula* (Pl. XXX) is occupied by the Epic Muse, Calliope (Bie's type two, *theta*). Her position and appearance resemble those of Euterpe and Melpomene of the sarcophagus front with the following differences: her head is turned in three-quarters profile to the left; her belt is narrower and lacks the scroll design; her *himation* is worn like a cape, mainly behind her, but an end comes over each shoulder and runs down within the girdle to the loin; her attributes as restored (along with the projecting hands that hold them) are a tablet in her left hand and a *rotulus* in her right.

In the right interspace is the Muse of Astronomy, Urania (Bie's type four, *beta*). Her left knee is bent awkwardly; her face is at present rigidly frontal, but the way in which the hair seems to grow further forward on her left cheek indicates that the face originally turned a little toward the middle figure. The *himation* is not thrown back a second time over her left shoulder but is caught tight at her elbow. Her attributes, restored of course, are the globe and the stylus, or whatever one chooses to call the curious but frequently occurring stick in her stiffly restored right hand.

The remaining Muse, in the right terminal *ædícula*, is Polymnia (Bie's type two, *beta*), she who presides over oratory and sacred poetry. She stands easily, the weight on her right leg, her left elbow resting heavily on a tree-trunk, toward which she turns her body in three-quarters view. But the head (restored with moderate correctness as to position, I believe) turns back toward the middle of the relief, and her left leg, free of weight, swings back in front of the right leg in the same direction. A bit of the *chiton* appears near her feet and at her left elbow. Otherwise the *himation* wraps up the body, legs, arms, and even right hand. Her right arm showing through the tight *himation* is raised toward her neck; the elbow rests on her left hand, which holds a *rotulus*.

Again we turn the corner (returning to Paris) and come to the foot of the sarcophagus (Pl. XXIX). The architectural framework is like that of the head; in the middle *ædícula* is the tomb-portal (the description of which we shall postpone in order to treat it with the rest of the architectural decoration) and in the flanking interspaces are figures on the reduced scale of those of the sarcophagus head. The two figures and the tomb-portal are also similarly raised on an elevation, here hardly a podium (since it is discontinuous, only concealing the column base to the left of the tomb-portal), but rather a succession of three pedestals: at the sides, they have the rounded form of statue pedestals seen in relief, appropriate for the figures; in the middle, in front of the tomb-portal to support the offering-table, is a pedestal of greater projection, broken, but probably segmental.

At the left is a female figure, with head veiled, wearing long *chiton*, and *himation* one end of which is brought round again over her right arm and diagonally down into her left hand, from which folds hang to the knee. The head and body are nearly in full face, though the figure has a kind of Praxitelean double curve—in the third dimension too. Her left knee, clumsily restored, is bent; her feet are shod like those of the Muses. Both hands are busy with the drapery, her left restored, her right, on her right breast, barely projecting from the *himation* and mostly broken away.

At the right is a male figure with thick tufts of hair and full beard. He too is frontal but with a definite walking pose that goes much further than the bending of his right knee. The short *chiton* is seen only on the breast. The *himation* is worn wrapped about both shoulders, covering both arms, and falling nearly to the ankles; a heavy roll of it that



PARIS, LOUVRE: FOOT OF THE BORGHESÉ-LOUVRE SARCOPHAGUS



passes across his waist is grasped by his battered left hand; his right hand, now broken away, was supported at the other side by this same roll from which it but slightly projected. The feet are sandaled.

The description of the architecture is simplified by the resemblance between the two sides and between the two ends. One description with minor qualifications applies to both front and back (*Cf.* Pls. XXVI, XXVII, XXX).

The three *ædiculæ* and interspaces on the front and on the back of the sarcophagus are carried out in the architecture common to the Asiatic sarcophagi. The columns of the front stand on pedestals (which have at present no base-molding but rest directly on the wide fillet which forms the restored lower edge of the sarcophagus front) in the form of a die with a cap-molding consisting of a heavy fillet above a cant molding, something less than a quarter-round; the columns of the back stand on the above-mentioned *podia* the original form of which is concealed by plaster but was apparently that of a rectangular block with a cap consisting of a cant molding and fillet. On pedestal or podium rests the plinth, a very thin square plate. The column base has three toruses with no real trochilus, though the lowest torus is of so exaggerated a projection that it offers a wide upper surface in which a groove is sunk so as to give this torus a bulging edge. The other two toruses are but little wider and no thicker than the heavy shaft-ring, which seems one of them save for its flatter upper surface. The shafts are spirally fluted, upward and inward for each *ædicula*. The height of the shaft is about five times the diameter, exclusive of the ring at the bottom and the astragal at the top; they with the base and pedestal (or podium) make up another diameter approximately. The height of the capital is about 1.2 diameters. It consists of two parts, both derived from the Corinthian order, a round *acanthus* bell, and a square block comprising an elaboration of the corner volutes and returning spirals as well as the abacus proper. The two parts are of nearly equal height and are sharply distinguished despite the historical connection of the volutes and spirals with the growth below. The foliage of the bell is now so mutilated and plastered up that it is difficult to make out in detail. Deep drilling, coloristic treatment, would make the foliation sufficiently confused, but when this confusion is supplemented by such damage, it makes it impossible to see more than a suggestion of what was intended. Only after comparison with better preserved examples is the arrangement clear. Of the traditional eight leaves with which the capital would be provided traces of three slender, spiky, many-lobed ones show on the side toward us, one in the middle with deep boring on its face and around and under it, and two below the corners right and left, shooting out sharp lobes to those of the middle leaf. The leaves are joined in a continuous, undifferentiated, overhanging lip, which forms the division between the two members of the capital. A stem rises from the tip of the middle leaf to carry an overhanging leaf-end that bulges out from the middle of the slightly concave abacus. Between the abacus and the bell are seen four volutes of equal size. They are fragile and undercut but protected by being connected with the foliage by pins. The outer volutes seem to depend from the corners of the abacus and curl inward; the middle ones seem to depend from the middle leaf stem and curl outward.

Although the fluting of the columns relates them to their respective *ædiculæ*, their regular spacing, as of a colonnade, suffers but one significant variation: *Terpsichore's* *ædicula*, at the left end of the back, is much narrower. The sculptor made up here rather abruptly for the shortness of the back.

The columns carry a discontinuous entablature. It is broken out *en ressaüt* above the capitals and returned along the wall across the intercolumniation. It is interrupted

in its horizontal movement by conches (fluted upward) in the *ædiculæ*, although all but the lower part follows the line of the gable and arches.

The moldings of the entablature are: a leaf-and-dart on a practically flat cyma reversa, a narrow fillet, an egg-and-dart (Puzzle: find the dart! A diligent search reveals one at the left of Euterpe, and one only!) on a flattened ovolo, a row of heavy dentils, a wide fillet, a coloristic, palmettized scroll on a shallow cavetto, a vague narrow crowning fillet. Above the capitals the dentils and wide fillet twice appear, once for the horizontal cornice of the *ædiculæ*, which is however interrupted so that it covers little more than a capital, and again for the raking or arched cornice. The ovolo also appears in its proper place beneath them. The space between it and the conch, scarcely more than two small spandrels, inadequate to receive the fillet and cyma, which are in order, is decorated with scattered drill-holes. The horizontal lower edge of the conch rests on the adjoining capitals.

The outer angles of the gables are decorated with unclear acroteria, presumably of palmette design. And it is not certain how the gutter was treated, if indeed there was anything more than the crowning fillet already mentioned. The gables spring from above the outer corners of the capitals but the arches from above the middle. The latter leave thus a vacancy beyond their springing. This was filled with diminutive groups, probably of struggling animals.

The architectural decoration of head and foot is nearly alike except for the tomb-portal of the latter (Cf. Pls. XXVIII, XXIX). There are four columns, approximately equidistant but inevitably much nearer together than the columns of the sides. The two middle ones, fluted spirally upward and inward, belong to a middle *ædícula*, while the two outer ones belong to the end-*ædiculæ* of the long sides. Although the columns' pedestals, and bases in part, are concealed by the various pedestal and podium arrangements for the figures, they generally resemble, as do the columns' other features, what we have already studied on the long sides. The architrave is analogous to, and in fact a continuation of, that on the sides. It has, however, a surprising feature which appears most conspicuously on the head of the sarcophagus at the left. Here it does not spring out *en ressaut* at right angles over the column but it is curved out from behind the personification, that stands further forward than the Homer, and it thus bridges over in a curious way the left side of the intercolumniation. In this way a greater projection of the entablature is secured, and it is needed because the column at this end is set further forward than the middle ones. A little beyond the inner line of its shaft a slight angle in the entablature is made by canting it back to the left. This canting I conceive to be due possibly to a final adjustment at this corner to the decoration of the front. Part of the unusual projection of the corner may be due to the circumstance that the front of the sarcophagus is longer than the back, though so slight a disparity would easily have been absorbed by a diagonal surface, without any such rough methods. At any rate, the curved entablature and the elimination of the right angle *en ressaut* were not accidental. For that the right hand corner was analogous is evidenced by two circumstances: the figure here is likewise standing forward, and the entablature is preserved past the inner line of the shaft without any indication of a *ressaut*, despite the fact that the column on this side is, like its counterpart, further forward than the middle columns, above which a decided *ressaut* was resorted to. On the foot the entablature at the left is almost entirely destroyed, but that of the right intercolumniation shows the same curve instead of a *ressaut*. The corner is preserved to show that there was no canting here. The plan of the ends was, then, that of an *ædícula* projecting from a wide, shallow niche. Of the two *ædiculæ* there only remains

to be said that the mass of the corner palmette acroteria is conspicuous though details are lost and that it is doubtful whether the gutter had any special decoration. Above the entablature at the corners that joined the front of the sarcophagus are the unmistakable remains of diminutive animals. By analogy, these were probably lions pulling down bulls around the corner of the sarcophagus. The canting on the head of the sarcophagus would have made it easier to work a continuous group around the angle.

The tomb-portal of the foot of the sarcophagus is so wide that it crowds the columns on either side of its *ædícula* and even partly conceals them. It has a heavy hood, borne at each end by brackets in the form of the *cyma reversa* with the ends rolled into a scroll. Between the brackets are the ovolo with egg-and-dart and the heavy dentils, while upward the usual succession is continued, with the wide fillet, the cavetto with palmettized scrolls, and the crowning fillet (here so slight as to be practically non-existent). The moldings of the lintel and jambs of the portal proper are an ogee, the lower concave curve of which is very wide, between a narrow fillet within and a wide one without. The doorway is divided by a *trumeau* with molded base (toruses) and cap (astragal, torus, bell with leaves, quadrate abacus). Accordingly, the door itself is bivalved. The upper part of each valve has plain stiles, an upright sunken panel contained by an ogee, and above and below this panel oblong, faceted projections, the lateral facets curved inward, the horizontal ridge grooved. The lower parts are partly, and were more, hidden by a lion-legged offering table, presumably conceived in the form of a three-legged side table, but now lacking the front leg. The now indistinct offerings may have been fruits with their foliage.

From this long description emerge various points that provoke discussion. The character of this article being purely descriptive it precludes anything more than the cursory mention of a half dozen moot matters on which the study of the Borghese-Louvre sarcophagus appears to throw light.

Any information we can obtain about the methods of an ancient atelier is always of value. From the description of our sarcophagus it seems possible to state with certainty the way in which the work was carried along. The design was laid out with reference to the front, and the back was made to conform to the scale as best it might. The back seems certainly to have progressed from right to left and the head probably so. Presumably the tools used made it natural to go to the left all the way round. Such a manner of working would explain the evidences of poorer workmanship on the head. We have ample evidence that sarcophagi were finished sometimes in haste, or left sometimes unfinished. The maladjustment at the corner of head and front looks like the careless conclusion of a job. It is interesting to observe that botchwork on the head occurs on other Asiatic sarcophagi. Morey has noted it on the new Sardis sarcophagus.¹ On the head of the Sidamara sarcophagus, despite the superlative workmanship on the podium, Mendel emphasizes considerable defects in the principal scene: the awkward composition, the unintelligible relations of the animals, and the crowding and consequent diminution of the horse's head in the same niche as the man's.² I might add the comment that the scene in question is moreover a direct continuation of the scene on the back of the Sidamara sarcophagus—the rider makes the sixth needed to balance the composition of the back—and the architecture of the corner separating them is most summarily treated. Back and head belong together architecturally; but their surprising substitution of a later kind of architecture (the pendant arcade and, to get equal height over a narrower span, the horseshoe arch on

¹*Op. cit.*, p. 68.

²*Musées impériaux ottomans, Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines*, no. 112, pp. 288 ff.

the head) follows not from their being later than the front and foot but from their being less conspicuous and thus offering, as the predella offered to the quattrocento painter, a chance to progress without offending public taste.

A much discussed question is that of the center of production of the Sidamara sarcophagi. The current opinion is that they were the product of an exporting atelier, or, since our terminology is bound to be inaccurate and anachronistic anyway, perhaps it would be more suggestive to say, the merchandise of a mail-order house, for the trade lay within, not without, national limits. One cannot help wondering how such freight was shipped. There was, of course, an enormous marble trade in antiquity, one, in fact, that modern artists look back to with a sigh. The shipments, however, when not of unworked stone, were of pieces more portable because smaller (capitals, transennæ, revetment slabs, statues, etc.) or less breakable (drums, bases, etc.) than are these sarcophagi. We are properly impressed, it is true, by the feat of Theodoric in transporting the dome of his mausoleum from the quarries of Istria, and the huge stones of the pyramids are the gaping-stock of thousands; the transportation in such cases was mainly or wholly by water. Yet the topography of the Asiatic sarcophagi, as mapped out by Morey,¹ shows their popularity in inland regions. It was a problem of reaching a clientèle by land—another reason why the term "exporting atelier" may be misleading. Of course gigantic building stones are found at ancient sites remote from water transportation, but how far have they come? Always, as far as our evidence goes, from a nearby source. If there must be an alternative to the platitude: "God in His wisdom has channelled river beds or brought the lake or boundless sea near to the sites of great cities," it is "Or failing this He has at least placed quarries in the neighborhood of those that work in megalithic wise." As concerns the sarcophagi in question, let us take a concrete example, and what better example than the titular one, the Sidamara sarcophagus? There are (whatever the source of its marble, which Reinach considers local) four cogent reasons for believing it was worked on the spot. The first is the inaccessibility of Sidamara: it lies at least sixty miles as the crow flies, and much further over any mountain roads past or present, from the nearest possible point of debarkation.² The second is the massiveness of the sarcophagus: Th. Reinach³ gives the weight of the trough as seventeen long tons and the weight of the cover as thirteen, each of a single piece, and these figures do not seem exaggerated when we consider that the former is six feet wide, twice as long, and nearly as high, while the latter is somewhat wider and longer, two feet high all over, and more than twice that counting the reclining figures. No wonder that, after leaving it neglected for a quarter century, the Turks took months getting it to Constantinople, constructing special vehicles to bring it to the railroad and there loading it on two locomotive trucks: even with our heavy railroad equipment the ordinary load of an American box car is but ten tons. The third reason is the fragility of the carving. Nowadays we are unable to lift, load, and transport such objects to or from out-of-the-way places, where cartage and rehandling are involved, without breakage. The Sidamara sarcophagus is unfortunately itself an example; but one does not need to go so far afield—witness the left side of the counterpart of the "Ludovisi Throne" in the Boston Museum.⁴ The Borghese-Louvre sarcophagus illustrates (especially, as we have seen, in the case of the dart of the egg-and-dart) what happens when decoration of the Sidamara

¹*Op. cit.*, pl. XVII, fig. 10, and accompanying text.

²No map of this region that I am able to find permits an exact statement of the distances, but Morey's map just cited, shows the general relationships, provided that one remembers that a chain of mountains skirts the shore.

³*Op. cit.*, p. 193.

⁴A reproduction will appear in the next number of *The Art Bulletin*, pl. XLIV.



ROME, MUSEO BORGHESE: MIDDLE AEDICULA FROM THE BORGHESE-LOUVRE SARCOPHAGUS



type is handled too much. The fourth reason is the futility of doing the work on the sarcophagus elsewhere. A considerable amount of local work was indispensable to the placing of the sarcophagus in its permanent setting. Reliable workmen would have to be present for that. Why not send the carvers to the scene in the first place and avoid dealings at long range and transportation charges? The men would have been easier to transport than the sarcophagus. It is important to note that at Sardis, the only place, as far as I know, where systematic excavation has fully revealed the setting as well as the Asiatic sarcophagus, Morey finds that the carvers were sent to do the work on the spot.¹ For the reasons given it seems to me safe to assume that the carvers were sent to Sidamara too. All this does not controvert the theory of an original center of production (which dispatched sarcophagi in varying stages of completion as well as workmen) for the Sidamara sarcophagi. The adhesion to type and the repetition of architectural motives and of figures makes a common origin for many of the sarcophagi virtually a certainty. But we must be wary in trying to fix the center of production geographically. For, apparently, it came to be associated with a certain group of workmen, rather than with a certain place, a group representatives of which might turn up in various places, using local or imported marble, as convenience might dictate, but always using their own methods and designs. Instead of the metropolitan civilization (or even "small town life") in which so much of the art of the later Christian centuries was conceived, there existed at this time a cosmopolitan civilization, due to the annealing fire of imperialism, and thanks to which the Asiatic sarcophagi, originating, as Professor Morey seems conclusively to show, at Ephesus, might in their various modifications enjoy a wide diffusion. This diffusion I consider to have been effected in part through the migration of the carvers so that the artistic unity of the series is not challenged by the discovery of the use of a variety of marbles, according to local demands, or by the existence of diverse sub-types.

The Borghese-Louvre sarcophagus shows with unusual clearness the relation of the architecture of the trough to that of the Asiatic stage façades. For instance, the *scenae frons* of Aizanoi (which I single out for mention because it is illustrated in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. IV, Pl. XV, Fig. 6) presents the arrangement of our reconstituted sarcophagus as seen from the end: in the middle is a rectangular gabled *ædicula* in a concave niche, as on either end of the sarcophagus; at the right and at the left a gabled *ædicula* between two arched ones on a flat wall, as on either side of the sarcophagus. There are further but less significant resemblances, such as the separate podium for each of the lateral *ædiculae*, as on the back of the sarcophagus, and the inevitable main door in the middle *ædicula*, corresponding to the tomb-portal. It is best not to press the analogies too far, for the architectural scheme of the stage façades had become common property, and that it was not the only source to be drawn upon in creating the type of the Asiatic sarcophagi is shown by their covers.

The Asiatic sarcophagi (excluding as above the Riccardi sarcophagus) have, as far as known examples go, but one kind of cover, the *kline* with reclining figure or figures. Because of a fundamental association of ideas, the bed form of grave, leaving other peoples as the Egyptians out of consideration, is found throughout the Greek world: many examples are gathered in Volmoeller's monograph, *Griechische Kammergräber mit Totenbetten*. But the reclining figures on top are peculiarly popular among the Etruscans, and like other Etruscan fashions they were taken over and spread by the conquering Romans.²

¹Morey, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

²For examples and bibliography see Altmann, *Architektur und Ornamentik der antiken Sarcophage*, in particular, part I, chapter 4. Sometimes the cover only (as is the case with the Asiatic sarcophagi), more rarely the whole, is conceived as the *kline*.

It concerns us particularly that they found favor in the Eastern provinces. The motive is sometimes garbled. At Palmyra, which failed in other ways to take Rome verbatim, we find reclining figures under the end of the bed as well as grouped in relief on the cover.¹ Elsewhere forms evolved even more sumptuous than the Italic prototypes. The bed reaches an elaboration that makes it fit to associate with the rich architectural and figure decorations that like it characterize the Asiatic sarcophagi, and it undoubtedly contributed to their popularity and influence.² Though they are so frequently lost, the covers were of considerable importance not only as furnishing portraits of the owners but also as giving the fundamental orientation to the decoration of the sarcophagus. The Borghese-Louvre sarcophagus shows this orientation clearly. The only figures of the front and back that are not paired and centered, namely, the Apollo and the Calliope, look toward the head of the sarcophagus. This might be accidental in the case of the Calliope, but in the case of the Apollo it must be premeditated and a similar emphatic profiling of the middle figure of the front toward the head of the sarcophagus is seen on the above-named two key examples in the Ottoman Museum, from Sidamara and Selefkeh.

The foot of the Borghese-Louvre sarcophagus involves also a point in orientation. There are two places that immediately suggest themselves as locations for the tomb-portal. One, the front of the sarcophagus, we might describe as opposite the face of the deceased, since the inmate could be conceived as reclining on the left side like the portrait on top. Even if the inmate were conceived as flat on his back like an Egyptian mummy, other considerations like the position of the heart and the desire for hypothetical accessibility would insure the preference of the front to the back: the outer case of the wooden sarcophagus from the tomb of Dehuti-Nekht at El Bershah, now in the Boston Museum, has the tomb-portal painted toward the right of the front on the inner side, that is, with Egyptian literalism, right beside the head of the mummy. Classical taste and symmetry were both opposed to such displacement of the tomb-portal toward the right; they demanded that it be placed in the middle of the front, but the various sarcophagi with this arrangement do not concern us here. The other natural location for the tomb-portal, the foot of the sarcophagus, we might describe as in front of the deceased, since if he rose it would be in that direction. (Probably the custom of depositing more than one corpse in a sarcophagus would work in favor of this arrangement.)³ This is the location regularly chosen on the Asiatic sarcophagi. The Melfi sarcophagus⁴ seems at first sight an exception, but there are reasons to suppose that its cover has been reversed, as is notoriously the case with the Sidamara sarcophagus. As the Melfi sarcophagus is set up at present the middle figure of the front is in full face, the others being paired, but the middle figure of the back is in profile toward the foot of the sarcophagus, as is also her neighbor in front of her; if the cover were whirled around the orientation would be like that described above on the Borghese-Louvre, Sidamara, and Selefkeh sarcophagi and retained on the other members of the Asiatic series (as far as we have enough preserved to determine orientation, and except for the labors of Heracles in which, apart from that of the Cretan Bull, it becomes a tradition to turn him to the right). At present the lifting bosses at the ends of the cover do not exactly coördinate with the rough-hewn projections from the gables below: one is displaced to the right, the other to the left; reversal of the cover would

¹Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom*, p. 19.

²Altmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 41 f. Cf., e. g., Robert, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, nos. 21, 25, 69 and Vol. III, nos. 163, 221, 223.

³As would seated burial if practiced at this time; it plays a conspicuous part in the stories told of the finds made in sarcophagi during the Middle Ages.

⁴*Antike Denkmäler*, Vol. III, Pls. 22-24 and Delbrueck, *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, Vol. XXVIII, 1913, pp. 277-308. The present front view is reproduced in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. IV, Pl. XIV, Fig. 5.

correct this. It is hard to see why the tomb-portal would be placed behind the corpse: the present orientation seems as unreasonable as it is unprecedented.

The head of the Borghese-Louvre sarcophagus, though it bears only negatively on the question of orientation, is of great iconographic interest. Though I must omit here, as throughout, any discussion of the origin and history of the types, I cannot refrain from calling attention to the suitability of those chosen. The reminiscence of the architecture of the theater, that medium of intellectual interchange occupying in antiquity a position analogous to that of our periodical press, may be dismissed as adventitious. But Apollo and the Muses¹ were intended to stand for what was best in Classical civilization, and the bible of that civilization composed of two testaments, the Iliad and the Odyssey, accompanied by the author, properly found a place among them, while the two ministrants, conceived as persons, perhaps even portraits, perform appropriate rites at the door of Hades, of which Homer had so beautifully sung. Here is a summary presentment of the ideals of humanism: piety, intelligence, beauty—ideals that were sufficient even unto death.

¹A recent study of the Muses in sarcophagus decoration, supplementing the works of Bie cited above, is Dütschke's article in the *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, Vol. XXVII, 1912, pp. 129-145.



In Memoriam

Sir Christopher Wren, 1632-1723

BY ALFRED MANSFIELD BROOKS

Frederic Harrison, too recently dead to have his place assigned in the culture of the English-speaking peoples, closes his capital, short essay on centenaries with these words: "Humanity owes reverence to its ancestors as a social and even a religious duty. But it is only when posterity can calmly weigh the entire posthumous influence of their lives as a whole." In other words, "the truth is with time." A man the second centenary of whose death has just been celebrated and whose birth dates back to within a decade of three hundred years may appropriately receive some notice in this issue of *The Art Bulletin*.

Sir Christopher Wren was a man of rare type, both a great scientist and a great artist. His science was mathematical and astronomical; his art was architecture. Newton is reported to have called him the first mathematician of his day. He combined, to a remarkable degree, the mental qualities of the theoretical, imaginative, and practical man. So widely divergent were his practical inventions as astronomical instruments and a machine for sowing grain evenly. He did much with the subjects of latitude and wind, thereby greatly improving the science of navigation. If he had done nothing more, he would in this alone have been a potent forwarder of civilization. He conceived and carried through the idea of a hospital for sailors—the first. He was a founder of the Royal Society and a contributor to its learning through fifty-seven years. He was a good Greek and Latin scholar, and a master of English whether used in a scientific treatise, a dissertation on beauty, or a business letter. He was a naturalist who loved the beauty of nature. None other could write of "the lofty woods with their clamorous republic of rooks, the great fountains, the placid pools." As a draughtsman he was superb. He was a useful member of Parliament. He was a great favorite socially. I could treble this list of his capacities and achievements, but I shall end it by adding the single fact that he was the most distinguished architect the English-speaking race has yet produced. When Wren was twenty-one, his lifelong friend, the diarist Evelyn, referred to him as "that miracle of a youth." He died, past ninety, a miraculous old man. The world's valuation of him has risen steadily as posterity has calmly weighed the "posthumous influence" of his life. He is an ancestor to whom humanity does "owe reverence."

To enumerate only a few of the historical events with which he came into personal contact is enough to spring even the dullest imagination. A boy of eleven, at Westminster school, he helped defend the Abbey against the Puritan mob, and he saw its leader killed by a tile thrown from the roof. He saw his royalist uncle, the Bishop of Ely, go prisoner to the Tower of London, and he heard the bells toll for Archbishop Laud, and for Stafford, on whose death Evelyn made the entry, "the wisest head in England was severed from the shoulders of Lord Stafford." He saw and knew what drove the Puritans to cross the Atlantic. At sixteen he entered Oxford, then a royalist camp, where Charles the First held court, as well as a seat of learning. He knew the beheading of Charles the First and, ten years later, the death of Cromwell, of whose funeral Evelyn entered in his diary, "the joyfulest I ever saw, for there were none that cried but dogs." Wren was no "dog." He saw the restoration of Charles the Second. In 1665 he knew the Great Plague in London, of which Pepys, Evelyn, and Defoe have written, actually and imaginatively, what is unique among the records of horror. In 1666 came the Great Fire in London, the accounts of which by Pepys, Evelyn, and Defoe are again unequalled in mastery. The venerable Gothic cathedral of St. Paul was burned, along with scores of churches and thousands of other buildings. Evelyn made this entry, "the stones of Paule's flew like granados, the melting lead running down the streets in streams." What this meant and how vast the old church was may be understood from the fact that the completely leaded roof had an area of six acres.

It was the fire that brought Christopher Wren to the fore architecturally. Two years previously, at the age of thirty-three, Wren, without any experience, was called upon to build Pembroke College Chapel at Cambridge and the Sheldonian theatre at Oxford. He learned his architecture, as the greatest always have, on the ladder and the scaffold and among the carpenters and the masons. After the fire he immediately began to plan the new city of London. The plan which he made was, unfortunately, not put into execution. It is admitted to be one of the best of all city plans. Then, between 1667 and 1710, Wren built, in London alone, sixty churches and the present great cathedral of St. Paul, the dome of which is the most wonderful this side Michelangelo's dome of St. Peter's in Rome. And he built well-nigh numberless dwellings, palaces, and commercial structures.

The steeples of his churches set the model for every church steeple since, particularly those delightful eighteenth-century structures that are so typical of the old villages, towns, and cities of our own eastern seaboard. The dome of St. Paul's gave, indirectly, the model for our capital dome in Washington. And it is by his dome of St. Paul's that Sir Christopher Wren is known the world over, as Michelangelo is known by his dome of St. Peter's. As they stand together, so also do they stand apart from and above all other men. To understand one is to understand the other. It is as if the equal of Shakespeare had arisen to write another Hamlet.

It is pleasant to think of this man who thought out and built St. Paul's living to see it completed; fascinating to think of him, past eighty, pulled up in a basket for the last time, to oversee his own son, at that tremendous height, lay the cap-stone of the whole gigantic undertaking; inspiring to think how he must have looked down upon the towers and steeples of his own designing scattered all over London. But more astonishing than all else is it to reflect that this man—I count from his twenty-first birthday—for seventy years gave the example of combining the life of affairs and the life of scholarly research at their best and fullest, in a word, the example of what a man can be.

REVIEWS

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FINE ARTS. PART I: INTRODUCTION, BY GEORGE C. NIMMONS; CLASSICAL ARCHITECTURE, BY C. HOWARD WALKER; THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE MIDDLE AGES, BY RALPH ADAMS CRAM; THE RENAISSANCE, BY H. VAN BUREN MAGONIGLE; MODERN ARCHITECTURE, BY PAUL P. CRET. PART II: SCULPTURE, BY LORADO TAFT; PAINTING, BY BRYSON BURROUGHS; LANDSCAPE DESIGN, BY F. L. OLMSTED; CITY PLANNING, BY EDWARD H. BENNETT; THE INDUSTRIAL ARTS, BY HUGER ELLIOTT; MUSIC, BY THOMAS WHITNEY SURETTE; EPILOGUE, BY C. HOWARD WALKER. 8°, XXIX, 483 PP., 128 PLS. BOSTON, MARSHALL JONES, 1923. \$3.50.

It is cause for general congratulation that so eminent a body of men as "the American Institute of Architects, through its Committee on Education, have undertaken to arouse popular interest in the subject [of fine arts], and to make art instruction an integral part of all education." Their initial move is the publication of *The Significance of the Fine Arts*. The prime purpose of this volume is "for use as a textbook in American colleges." The secondary purpose is "for general reading and study by the public." The proverb about killing two birds with one stone comes to mind. The implied assumption that public and college students are one in respect to their needs and that their needs can be met by the same means is most interesting. That part of this assumption which relates to the identity of needs is only too true, but that which relates to identical treatment of student and public is open to question. That the college student possesses a youthful mind and is surrounded by the professoriate, good and poor, puts him into a class quite apart from the public, which, whatever the age of its mind, is wholly free from professorial influence for benefit and harm alike.

The "outstanding features" of the volume are set forth with categorical precision in ten brief paragraphs of the introduction. These features have been lived up to with remarkable consistency in the ten chapters which follow and which form the book. That there are regrettable lapses is true, but they are the exception to the rule.

The first of the ten brief paragraphs setting forth the "outstanding features" is as follows: "Freedom from technical matter not essential for the layman, simple language and the absence of complicated theoretical discussion."

In the opening essay, *Classical Architecture*, pp. 22 f., we read: "The sequence of the progress of the Greek shrine or temple building may have been as follows: (1) A fire floor of stone or brick upon which the sacrificial fire was built and later elevated upon an altar. (2) A wooden shelter above the fire to protect it from the weather and to prevent its being extinguished. An attempt was at once made to make this shelter incombustible by building it within a cell of stone or of brick, which, however, was of too insecure a character to safely carry a roof, and required itself protection from rain. Consequently a row of wooden posts supporting a beam was carried all around the cell at some distance outside of it, and the ceiling beams in turn were extended beyond the wall and rested upon the beam above the posts which supported it."

This is confused, and it does involve complicated, theoretical discussion.

Again, p. 24: "The elements which compose the Greek temple are each subdivided as follows: the basic platform, the column, and the structure above the column called

the entablature. The column in turn is divided into three parts; the base, the shaft, and the capital. The entablature is similarly subdivided into the epistyle, architrave or lintel; the frieze; and the cornice. The Doric frieze is composed of alternate triglyphs, and the spaces between, or metopes. [The *Doric* frieze is mentioned specifically and so described. What of the column just above 'which is divided into three parts; the base,' etc.] The cornice is divided into three parts: the bed mould, the fascia, and the crown moulding or cyma."

This is simple language for anyone familiar with the facts, but its dividings and subdividings cannot fail to puzzle anyone who is not, whether college student or general reader. So too of such statements as "mouldings and interstices of structure were decorated with color." In some cases technical terms are not explained or defined, while in others definition is repeated, as, for example, "the Suburra, the slums of Rome," p. 44, and again, p. 47, "the Suburra, or slums of Rome."

The whole chapter suggests hasty writing. This impression is borne out by the bibliography, which is full of errors: Flinder, *Petrie-Arts and Crafts of Egypt* for Petrie, W. M. Flinders, *The Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt*; Simpson, E. H. for Simpson, F. M.; Schuchardt for Schuchhardt; Anderson, W. S. and Spier, R. P. for Anderson, W. J. and Spiers, R. P.; Leroux, E. for Leroux, G.; Kimball, F. for Kimball, S. F.; together with incomplete titles.

On the other hand, the epilogue, the subject of which is *Significance of Art*, by the same author as the introductory chapter, is a piece of rigorously reasoned and charmingly expressed thought.

A book written by eleven different men, as this book is, every one distinguished, cannot be expected to entirely escape contradiction of one part by another. It may even be thought that such contradiction will beget thinking on the part of the reader. It will on the part of readers not new in the field. It will not on the part of some other readers. For example, in the introduction we read, "The taste of the people is improving as they are demanding productions of a higher type and better quality." On p. 370: "It is strange, but regrettably true, that any sensitiveness to beauty of color and form in objects of daily use is looked upon by many as a sign of weakness, oddity or affectation. . . . The reason is that popular standards in such matters are low: the majority care little about color or form." Again, p. 55: Architecture under the Romans "attained splendor, grandeur of scale, and magnitude of idea." On p. 64: "The Roman was never great in architectural or any other art." Finally, p. 391: The Romans produced "glassware which has but rarely been excelled." On p. 73 we read: John Ruskin "is an excellent guide . . . in the domain of the spiritual content of a great art" (architecture). P. 227: "Ruskin had about as enlightened a view of the veritable basis of this art [architecture] as that of the contractor for whom the architect is one 'who puts a few trimmings on an otherwise perfectly good building.'" Who shall decide when doctors disagree?

It is disappointing to find drawing, *per se* a great art, and father of all the arts, as Leonardo da Vinci called it, missing from among the chapters. This is the universal way. That is why its omission is so disappointing, for the book under discussion is no ordinary book. The same is true of the omission of engraving in all its beautiful forms.

Each chapter demands separate consideration. To make an essay on architecture, mediæval architecture in this case, as entertaining as a novel, as interesting as history, keeping it the while simple and intensely illuminating, is, of course, a stroke of genius. Here we have the highest type of textbook: clear and informatory, as a text should be,

but, in addition, touched with the vitalizing charm which makes for literature. Many examples as good could be cited, but none better for illustrating this than the passage dealing with Decorated and Flamboyant architecture, p. 111. The manner in which this chapter interweaves, yet keeps straight, the threads of history, custom, habit, in different lands, among different peoples, at different epochs is model. Comment and criticism beginning, "I believe" and "I give it as my judgment" are refreshing instances of the modesty of conscious authority. It is hard to imagine anything better for the thinking reader, college student or general public. Nor is this essay without significant humor. Of Gothic architecture: "It grew naturally and without the aid of professional architects, princely patrons, schools of art or professors." Pp. 92 f. contain a peculiarly interesting discussion of the modern habit of seeking "for some scientific basis, or rather mathematical explanation," means for proving "anything by means of an arbitrary cypher, after the fashion of the Shakespeare-Bacon controversy," in connection with the so-called irregularities and refinements of what in art is admitted to be marvelously fine.

A similar spirit pervades the capital chapter on the Renaissance. As if in continuation, really in summation, of what has just been said, the following sentence is significant. "In all periods of art, the inspiration spent, behind the joyous creators moving in careless freedom, come the portly purists, the makers of categories, marching with an air of severe importance, armed with books and instruments of precision to show how art should be manufactured and by what rules it must be confined." The success of this chapter lies in the fact—I quote the hope expressed in its own final paragraph—that it does "make clear the essential continuity of the Renaissance in art and in life from the day of Dante to the present moment." One feels that its author might have said with Dr. Johnson, "I knew very well what I had to do; I knew how to do it; and I think I have done it very well."

The chapter on modern architecture, by far the most difficult in the book to write, opens with a charming proem, so to speak, which leads up to the confession that we know well "that taste is a thing 'varium et mutabile.'" The assumption that the next words, "semper femina," will be remembered is nice. The striking fact is that this chapter is an altogether graceful defense—support is a better word—of modern building for the reason that it is wholly lacking in arrogant assumption. Rarely does a man take up the cudgel for present-day art and not have a chip or many chips on his shoulder. The reasoning in the chapter, and there is much close reasoning, lies midway between *laudator temporis acti* and blatant modernism. Necessarily, there is a good deal of bare enumeration of buildings and names, especially at the very end. But this in the light of what precedes is wholly defensible.

The first chapter in Part II, *Sculpture*, fulfills the promise of that paragraph in the introduction which declares one of the "outstanding features" of this book to be "the use of anecdote and story in connection with the great architectural achievements of the world." There being little or no anecdote and story elsewhere in the book, the lack is made up in this chapter. Here we have the extremely colloquial style, the joking familiarity which goes straight to the hearts of undergraduate audiences and to many Chautauqua and extension-course groups. "There are so many modern figures which seem concerned lest you miss them; they gesticulate like 'cabbies.' They weary me, these auctioneers on their soap-boxes!" Of Donatello's Gattamelata: "Its pneumatic-tire effect is strange to modern eyes;" "the bloated warhorse is very imposing;" "is it possible to imagine anything more convincing than that sturdy old boy?" Or we read of Pilon's urn ordered by Catherine de Medici and "intended to contain the heart of her

loving spouse. This was the first time she had been sure of its possession and she evidently wished to make the most of it!"

There is a certain amusing condescension, not on the part of a foreigner this time. "The reader is not expected to be enthusiastic over the charm of worthy old 'Niccolò da Uzzano' [Donatello], but if you should model a few hundred heads you would learn to appreciate the amazing characterization, the sincerity which we have here." This is very plain talk as to the prospects of appreciation generally, and the help to be derived from books and other sources not actual practice. Along similar lines is the comment on Desiderio's Laughing Child: "Here is another little charmer which you will have no trouble in liking!"

"Glorious Gothic" sculpture is left out. The omission, which is acknowledged to be "disgraceful," is excused on the ground that it "is perfect only in place." Are the college student and the general public to know nothing of such a vast subject, the significance of the fine art of mediæval sculpture? Evidently, from this textbook! American sculpture fares no better. In the six lines given to it the names of St. Gaudens and Daniel Chester French appear. It savors of begging the question. The contrast is marked and disappointing as one thinks back to the chapter on modern architecture in this volume.

The section on painting is an able résumé of the subject from the twelfth century down. It enters the twentieth century bravely. It is written from start to finish with a keen appreciation for the need to define terms, especially in a book of this kind. But if anyone should imagine that because it is a résumé it is dry and dull, he would be greatly mistaken. It is anything but that. As a textbook of brief compass it is admirable. Interleaved it would make a most helpful little book for study and notes on a first visit to the great galleries. In passing, it is interesting to note that Ruskin's name does not appear in the bibliography.

Landscape Design is an essay filled with explicit advice and direction, always accompanied with the reason why. This is of the textbook. Not so the manner of the writing. That is *con amore*. Everywhere the need for individual thinking is emphasized along with respect for authority. What could be better than this, one of many equally useful and fine passages: "The marvelous thing is that we are so made that each of us, as he grows in the enjoyment of beauty, generally finds that the qualities which most appeal to him are among those which have appealed to others highly developed in the appreciation of beauty, even in times or places far remote and circumstances very different. It is with the learning of this truth that one comes to an appreciation of the true value and use of 'authorities' and 'precedents.' Their use is not to relieve us of standing on our own feet in matters of artistic choice, but to make us modestly critical of the thoroughness of our own understanding and the keenness of our own perceptions where we find them apparently at odds with the judgment of acknowledged experts."

The bibliography for this chapter, longer than most in the volume, is a model of what such a thing should be to be useful. It is even good reading in itself.

City Planning is another satisfactory chapter. It is a clear, elementary treatment of this important and insufficiently understood art. The force of the essay is increased by a judicious, as well as generous, use of literary sources, Juvenal, Zola, and Whistler. The admiration for Rome and Paris is contagious, admiration rested on clearly explained cause, without a suspicion of a taint of sentimentality.

The chapter on the industrial arts deserves a review to itself, so compact is it of finely expressed judgments, first rate descriptions of process, and quotations to the point.

After a general view of the subject and a section on the minor fine arts, there follows a detailed summary under specific heads. These are: ceramic art, glass, leaded glass windows, textiles, lace, embroidery, jewelry, metal work, furniture, the book, illustration. Every one is treated vividly. As soon as one has read them through, he is certain to turn back for careful study of one part or another. A single brief quotation, typical of the whole, shows what I mean: "Perhaps the most remarkable imitations of natural forms ever made by the hand of man are the glass flowers in the Museum of Harvard University. They surpass imitations—they appear to be actual flowers and leaves, at least as far as the sense of sight is concerned. These were made, be it clearly understood, as aids to botanical study—not as works of art. And they are not works of art. For a work of art is a creation, not an imitation."

There is nothing better in the book than the last chapter, which is on music. Music is an art that calls for peculiar ability of exposition, and such is here. A clear argument runs through the chapter from beginning to end. It is untechnical in the very best sense, and it is just the sort of introduction which begets elementary understanding of the simple fundamental facts of the subject. Written with complete comprehension of the needs of the reader and the student it is intended to serve, it will stimulate interest in music, intelligent interest.

In a future edition a considerable number of typographical errors can be corrected, and the bibliographies should be made uniform. It is perhaps too much to hope, with the present cost of making a book, for better paper and sharper illustrations. The quality of this book as a whole deserves these betterments.

Alfred Mansfield Brooks

(continued)

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FROM THIS ROOM





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FIG. 1—VICH, EPISCOPAL MUSEUM: ALTAR-FRONTAL FROM MONTGRONY WITH THE LEGEND OF ST. MARTIN. EARLY TWELFTH CENTURY

The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia (I)

BY WALTER W. S. COOK¹



the study of Spanish painting we have an excellent illustration of the retrogressive method of art criticism. The evolution during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is perfectly clear, fully documented, and exceedingly well published. Gothic painting of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is less well-known to students. Some schools of Spanish primitives, especially those of Aragon, Castellón de la Plana, Valencia, Navarre, and Cordova, still await publication, and innumerable retables of great beauty and magnificence have never been photographed, while the documents in municipal and cathedral archives offer untold possibilities for fruitful investigation. Our knowledge of the Romanesque period is even more limited. The remarkable Romanesque panels of Catalonia have never been the subject of an adequate, scientific study. Yet these altar-frontals and altar-canopies, dating from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, constitute one of the most interesting early schools of painting in western Europe.²

The panels are preserved for the most part in the land that gave them birth. The first collection of importance was made by Sr. Dr. Morgades y Gili, bishop of the diocese

¹To Professor Charles R. Morey of Princeton University, I am more deeply indebted than to any one else in the preparation of the following pages, which have been subject to his constant criticism and advice; whatever contribution the work contains is largely due to his inspiring instruction. I am also indebted to Professor Chandler R. Post, of Harvard University, Professor Paul J. Sachs, Assistant Director of the Fogg Art Museum, Miss Belle da Costa Greene, Director of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan's Library, who has generously allowed me to consult the original manuscripts in that important collection, Professor and Mrs. A. Kingsley Porter of Cambridge, who have kindly placed at my disposal their large collection of photographs, and the Princeton Index of Iconography. Among my illustrations are photographs reproduced by courtesy of Messrs. Byne, Moreno, Porter, Catala frères, Institut d'Estudis Catalans: clixé-Mas. The original material was first studied and gathered in Spain during the year 1919-1920, when I was Fellow in Mediæval and Renaissance studies of the Archaeological Institute of America.

²The bibliography of this school of Romanesque painting is quickly exhausted. Catalan antependia first attracted notice at the Barcelona Exhibition of 1888, where a few panels from the Episcopal Museum at Vich were exhibited for the first time, and briefly mentioned in the *Album de la sección arqueológica de la Exposición Universal de Barcelona*, 1888, published by the *Asociación Artística Barcelonesa*, with an introduction by José Puiggari, one of the earliest Catalans to interest himself in the primitive art of his country. A summary review of the exhibition was contributed in the same year to the *Bulletin Monumental* (1888, pp. 558-581) by M. de Fayolle (*Notes sur l'exposition rétrospective de Barcelone*). In 1893 the panels of the Episcopal Museum at Vich were catalogued in the handbook issued by Bishop D. José Morgades y Gili, *Catálogo del Museo Arqueológico-Artístico Episcopal de Vich*. The descriptions in this catalogue are exceedingly brief and the dates are invariably too early. Other panels were exhibited in the *Exposición de Arte Antigua de Barcelona* in 1902, and described in the *Catálogo General* of this exhibition (p. 34).

The earliest discussion of the panels as a group is due to the present director of the Vich Museum, José Gudiol y Cunill, one of the most thorough of Catalan scholars and unusually learned in ecclesiastical antiquities. This discussion appeared in *Nocions de Arqueologia Sagrada Catalana* (Vich, 1902, pp. 273 ff.), a work which is fundamental to intelligent study of Catalan archæology. The same author published in the following year a more complete description of the panels in the museum at Vich (*Las Pinturas Romanicas del Museum de Vich*) in *Forma* (Barcelona, 1904, I). Occasional articles on new panels which entered the Barcelona Museum were issued in 1907 by José Pijoan in the *Il·lustració Catalana*, a weekly review (*Noves adquisicions del museu de Barcelona*). A general article which included other panels than those at Vich, especially those in the Museum of Fine Arts at Barcelona, was then published by Antonio Muñoz (*Pittura Romanica Catalana: I paliotti dipinti dei Musei di Vich e di Barcellona*) in *Anuari, Institut d'Estudis Catalans* (Barcelona, 1907, I, pp. 89 ff.). Muñoz's article contributed little more than to point out the dependence of the painted antependia on those in precious metals. In the same year one of the panels in the Episcopal Museum at Lerida was exhibited at the *Exposición retrospectiva de arte* held at Saragossa (E. Bertaux, *Exposición retrospectiva de arte.—1908*, Saragossa, Madrid, 1910, pp. 37-38). The panels were called to the attention of French scholars in 1910 by Marcel Dieulafoy in *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (Paris, 1910, p. 324). Brief additional mentions have appeared from time to time in Catalan newspapers and periodicals, such as *La Veu de Catalunya*, *Vell i Nou (primera epoca)*, *Butlletí del Centre Excursionista*, *Anuari*, etc. General treatises on Spanish architecture and painting have also, in the past few years, paid brief attention to these panels, with occasional reproductions; viz. Marcel Dieulafoy, *Art in Spain and Portugal* (New York, 1913, pp. 116 ff.); José Puig y Cadafalch, *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1909, vols. II, III); A. L. Mayer, *Geschichte der Spanischen Malerei* (Leipzig, 1922, pp. 17 ff.); Emile Bertaux, *La peinture du XI^e au XIV^e siècle en Espagne*, in A. Michel's *Histoire de l'art chrétien* (II, pp. 412 ff.); Eckart von Sydow, *Die Entwicklung des figuralen Schmucks der Christlichen Altar-Antependia und -Retabula bis zum XIV Jahrhundert* (Strassburg, 1912, pp. 25 ff.).

of Vich, who, during the seventies and eighties of the last century, gathered into the Episcopal Museum of that city the most interesting and valuable examples of ecclesiastical art then existing within his jurisdiction; further, since he had previously served as bishop of Solsona, this diocese also was included in his net. More than twenty Romanesque panels were thus saved from impending destruction, as well as thousands of other objects of varying archæological value. In recent years Dr. J. Serra y Vilaró has discovered a few additional frontals which had been overlooked by Bishop Morgades, and these are now deposited in the Episcopal Museum at Solsona, of which he is the present director. The Episcopal Museum at Lerida possesses five or six panels, and one is in the recently created Episcopal Museum at Barcelona. But the second important group, after that of Vich, is preserved in the Museum of Fine Arts at Barcelona. Owing largely to the activity of José Pijoan, formerly a member of the Junta de Museos, and Sr. Joachim Folch i Torres, the present director of the mediæval department, this collection, which was begun only in 1901-2, has constantly grown in size and importance. A third large collection is in private possession, belonging to Sr. D. Lluís Plandiura, of Barcelona, who has brought together during the past ten years more than fifteen early and important examples. I have also found a few stray panels outside the peninsula, such as a stucco panel in the Barnard collection, New York City, the only example in this country, and a few in European collections, such as that in the possession of Mr. Roger Fry, another in the shop of the dealer Lionel Harris, London, etc. In general, however, the most valuable and precious examples are still preserved, and can only be studied, in Catalonia itself. Isolated antependia are still to be found in small parish churches in the foothills of the Pyrenees, but so large a number have been gathered into permanent collections that an intelligent study of them is now possible.

In the following pages some of the earliest panels have been selected for discussion since they illustrate in characteristic fashion the problems of origins, iconography, and style, the solution of which must be antecedent to further study of the series. Numerous elements enter into the eclectic and yet oddly original Catalan style and the difficulties of analyzing this eclecticism are countless; the evolution of primitive Italian painting is, in comparison, a simple subject. The complexity of our problem is largely due to the geographical situation of Catalonia, which was subject to influences from various directions; from Mozarabic Spain on the one hand and Moslem Spain on the other, from southern and northern France, England, and central as well as Lombard Italy. The only parallel in the history of art is that found in southern Italy and Sicily, where the same historical reasons account for an unusual mixture of styles.

(1) THE SAINT MARTIN ALTAR-FRONTAL FROM MONTGRONY

The earliest panel of the entire series of Catalan altar-frontals comes from Montgrony, in Bergadá, in the western Pyrenees,¹ and is now preserved in the Episcopal Museum at Vich (Fig. 1).² Its chief interest lies in the fact that it is not only the earliest preserved example of panel painting in the Iberian peninsula but is one of the earliest known in western Europe. The work is divided into a large central compartment flanked on either side by four smaller scenes from the life of St. Martin.

¹Montgrony is not far from Ripoll. Its church is of the second half of the eleventh century and has been much restored (José Puig y Cadafalch, *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya*, Barcelona, 1911, II, pp. 279-280, figs. 198-200).

²Vich Museum, no. 9; photograph by Thomas, no. 355; tempera on wood; 0.97 x 1.23m; the ornament on the lower edge of the frame is almost entirely effaced and the lower left compartment is damaged, but the colors are surprisingly well preserved. The panel was acquired for the Museum at Vich by Bishop Morgades, the original founder, and was exhibited at the Barcelona Exposition in 1888.



FIG. 2—GÖTTINGEN, UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK: SACRAMENTARY, COD. THEOL. 231, FOL. 113a. LEGEND OF ST. MARTIN. c. 975



FIG. 3—TUDELA, NAVARRE, COLLEGIATA: CAPITALS OF NORTH PORTAL WITH THE LEGEND OF ST. MARTIN. FIRST HALF THIRTEENTH CENTURY



FIG. 4—ZAMORA, LA MAGDALENA: TOMB OF A TEMPLAR. THIRTEENTH CENTURY



The central compartment contains the figure of Christ in Majesty, seated on a high wooden throne with a narrow cushion; a closed Book of the Gospels rests on His left knee and His right hand is raised in benediction. The right hand is abnormally large in relation to the size of the left, and the thumb is not bent over the finger in the Greek manner of blessing. Christ wears a crossed nimbus and a red, loose-fitting tunic, with scalloped edges and wave ornament, flaring outward slightly above the waist and falling in straight lines to the ankles. A green mantle, with outer edge indicated by a heavy yellow outline, covers the knees in stiff, cap-like folds. The bare feet, resting on a curving suppedaneum and turned outward in perfect symmetry directly on the central axis, are placed tightly together and are so appended to the lower edge of the tunic that all sense of logical structure is lost. The feet do not join the legs which the artist indicated by the folds of the tunic, and the distance between the knees and ankles is disproportionately long. The face is long and thin; small black pupils are placed beneath highly arched eyebrows; the upper eyelid is indicated by two curving lines and the lower lid by a straight line. The long nose, with nostrils shown by two lobes, the small mouth, turned down at the corners, and the diminutive ears, placed unusually high, are indicated by detached brush strokes with no shading. The figure is placed against a plain yellow background and a foliate heart *motif* with palmette filling decorates the red spandrels outside the mandorla.

The first of the Saint Martin scenes is in the upper left-hand compartment. Saint Martin, seated astride a dapple-gray horse, shares his mantle with a beggar who holds up one end in outstretched hands. The saint is armed with a shield, sword, and lance with pennant attached, and wears a red tunic, hose, and slippers; the beggar is naked save for a tattered green tunic. The background is plain yellow.

In the scene directly below, the saint is shown restoring to life the catechumen who had died without receiving the baptism and who here stands before him in a short red tunic, hose, and slippers. Saint Martin wears a yellow halo, long tunic, and red *pænula*, and grasps the hand of the catechumen, who is represented with eyes still closed. "Two hours had not elapsed when Martin saw the dead man recover by degrees the use of his members, and reopen his eyes. Then Martin uttered a great cry to the Lord, and gave Him thanks. The cry of the blessed man rang through the cell, and those who were waiting outside the door, on hearing it, burst in. Wonderful sight! They saw him alive whom they had left dead." Behind Saint Martin stands an ecclesiastic holding a book, possibly the disciple Sulpicius Severus, who saw and conversed with the man.¹

The death of the saint is seen in the corresponding compartment on the right, where he is depicted in bishop's robes lying on a bed of ashes. "And since he was suffering from fever, his disciples begged him to allow them to place a little straw on his bed, but he replied, 'No, my children, a Christian should die only on ashes!' He lay on his back with hands and eyes lifted to Heaven, and when his priests begged him to alleviate the pain in his body by turning on his side, he replied, 'My brothers, let me gaze at Heaven rather than on the earth.'"² At the head and foot of the bed stand two nimbed ecclesiastics in antique costume; one of them swings a censer, the other holds a book and cross.³ An angel occupies the middle of the scene.

¹S. Baring Gould, *The Lives of the Saints*, Edinburgh, 1914, XIII, p. 246.

²Jacques de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, CLXIII.

³The figures may represent the two disciples of Martin, Severus and Gallus. On the other hand, they may be an allusion to the visions of St. Severinus of Cologne and St. Ambrose of Milan, one of whom heard the angels chanting at the time of St. Martin's death, and the other dreamed that he was present at the obsequies of the saint. The latter vision is probably meant by the half-figure of a bishop who witnesses the translation of St. Martin's soul in the scene above.

The last section shows the translation of the soul of the saint. Two winged angels, dressed in tight-fitting tunics and robes, with bare feet and yellow halos, lift the soul of the deceased saint in a cloth. From the earth below appears the half figure of an ecclesiastic, dressed in tunic and pænula, who gazes upward with outstretched hands. In each of the scenes Saint Martin and the ecclesiastics are represented with the tonsure.

A Leonine inscription, written between the upper and lower compartments, reads,

DANS INOPEM TERRIS MARTINVS VIVET E CELIS,

which can be translated, "Giving to the poor on earth, Martin shall live sustained by heaven."¹

The bevel of the frame is colored red and the upper surface is ornamented with an acanthus-palmette scroll bordered on either side by a broad red stripe. The branches bearing the palmettes produce first a single and then a double spray, each of which terminates in tightly curled leaves. The palmette itself consists of a central stem terminating more or less distinctly in a flos, on either side of which are two pairs of stems, of which the upper pair terminates in coiled leaves resembling the Arabic half palmette; the two lower stems are filled with similar leaves, nestling beneath them, and the intermediate space between the upper and lower is filled with a flat tone which produces an effect of solidity. At the corners and center of the frame the branches surround the palmette and unite to form a medallion.

The iconography of the panel, which is one of the earliest to represent the life of St. Martin, offers numerous details of interest. No scene moved more deeply the hearts of the poor or depicted more clearly the spirit of Christian charity than the scene in which the saint shares his mantle with the beggar. As early as the fifth century his miracles were depicted in the church of St. Martin at Tours, and this scene (sharing of the mantle) was painted in a sixth-century fresco in the cathedral of the same city. M. Emile Mâle, who says our panel may date in the eleventh century, is in error, however, in stating that "*c'est là que nous voyons pour la première fois le saint coupant en deux son manteau*;"² the scene occurs as early as the tenth century in the Sacramentary of Göttingen (Fig. 2), a Fulda manuscript, dated by Zimmermann about 975,³ where the saint is depicted on foot. A capital at Moissac, at the end of the eleventh century (see the cover design of this magazine), offers interesting analogies with our panel, for the mantle is held by the saint and beggar in much the same fashion and the disposition of the figures is almost identical in both; on a capital at Tudela, Navarre (Fig. 3), of the early thirteenth century, the beggar stands behind the horse and the saint turns round in the saddle. The subject, in fact, was almost as common in Catalonia as in France,⁴ and nothing shows better the cultural unity

¹This free rendering of E CELIS explains the sense of the original much better than the literal translation, "Martin shall live from heaven." DANS is construed with the accusative INOPEM on the analogy of DONANS. I am indebted for this observation to my kind friend Dr. E. K. Rand of Harvard.

²Emile Mâle, *L'art religieux du XII^e siècle en France*, Paris, 1922, p. 226.

³University Library, cod. theol. 231, fol. 113a; Zimmermann, *Die Fuldaer Buchmalerei in karolingischer und ottonischer Zeit*, Vienna, 1910, pl. Ib.

⁴For other XII century examples in France see Mâle, *op. cit.*, pp. 224 ff. He appears as a single figure in earlier works of art, e. g., mosaic, right wall, S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, inscr. (MAR)TINVS, VI century (Corrado Ricci, *Ravenna*, Bergamo, 1906, fig. 56); ivory book-cover, school of Tours, IX century, Berlin, Kaiser Fried. Mus., as a bearded figure seated in the gate of a city wall, inscr. SCS MARTINVS EPS (Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, pl. LXV-153B); illuminated vellum flabellum, middle IX century, Tours?, Carrand coll., Florence, Natl. Mus. (*ibid.*, pl. LXVI-155A). Relics of St. Martin were kept in Mozarabic churches as early as the sixth century, in a church near Loja (Granada), and at Medina Sidonia (Andalusia), 630 A. D. (Emile Hübner, *Inscriptiones Hispaniae christianae*, Suppl., no. 374, *idem*, *I. H. C.*, p. 24, no. 85). In the old Mozarabic calendars the translation of St. Martin is inscribed on July 4, as in the majority of the old calendars of the Latin church, the consecration as bishop on August 11, and his death, November 11 (D. Marius Férotin, *Le Liber Ordinum*, Paris, 1904, coll. 470-71, 474-75, 486-7). At Cordova the feast of St. Martin took place in the country, at a place called *Tarsil*, three miles from the city, a hamlet which Mozarabic writers have named *Tercios* (*ibid.*, p. 486, n. 11). For the text of the masses in honor of this saint, Ordination, Death, etc., see Férotin, *Le Liber Mozarabicus*, Paris, 1912, coll. 395-400, 464-69, 837-8. The *Vita Sancti Martini* by Sulpicius Severus occurs in a Mozarabic manuscript in the library of the Academy of History, Madrid, no. 47 (*Patrol. lat.*, XX, coll. 161-176).



FIG. 5—NEW YORK, MORGAN LIBRARY: PAGE FROM A COPTIC SYNAXARY.
ANNUNCIATION, A. D. 914



FIG. 6—ESCORTAL LIBRARY: MINIATURES IN THE CODEX VIGILANUS, OR ALBEDENSIS
(d. I. 2). A. D. 976



of the county of Barcelona with southern and central France than the popularity of the holy St. Martin of Tours. His cult may well have been introduced at the time of the conquest by Charlemagne, inasmuch as Benedictine monasteries in the diocese of Urgell were dedicated to the saint earlier than the tenth century.¹ No less than a dozen churches under this invocation can be cited in Catalonia earlier than the twelfth century, among them the famous monastery of S. Martí de Canigó. In the preserved altar-frontals he appears frequently: in a panel to be described later, of the twelfth century, now in the Barcelona Museum, in a thirteenth-century panel in the collection of Mr. Roger Fry, and in others of the fourteenth century at Solsona and in Aragon.

The soul of St. Martin, as a naked bust lifted to Heaven in a napkin, follows a type sufficiently common in mediæval art.² It is frequent in Spain, as shown by another antependium of the twelfth century at Vich (no. 3) and in a thirteenth-century tomb in the church of the Magdalene at Zamora (Fig. 4). The same *motif* appears at Ripoll, on the sepulchre of Berenguer III, the Great, who died in 1131 (Fig. 7), but here the napkin is held by descending angels, as in the tomb at Zamora, although the ends terminate in folds similar to those on our panel. The inscription on the Berenguer tomb reads, *Marchio Raymundus moriens petit etera mundus*.³ A mortuary scene on the succeeding relief of the same monument (Fig. 7) reproduces, even more closely than the *motif* of the translation of the soul, the composition of the death scene of St. Martin (figures at the foot and head of the couch and an angel in the middle); it has also the same type of crucifix, held in the same manner. A similar cross is held by St. Martin on another side of the Moissac capital, where he raises the catechumen; the catechumen, however, does not stand, as in our panel, but lies prone on a couch.⁴

The Saviour, in the central panel, is much more advanced in style than the figures in the lateral scenes. The impression of archaism produced by the work is due in large measure to the employment in the side panels of stylistic peculiarities which are common features of the earlier manuscript tradition of the tenth and eleventh centuries. The stiff tubular skirts, which are apparently attached to the thighs of the two puppet-like angels holding the soul of St. Martin, are reminiscent of the drapery treatment found in the Codex Vigilanus, dated 976 (Fig. 6), where the effect of a tube attached to the thigh again appears, a mannerism which may have been adopted from Coptic Egypt, since it appears in a tenth-century Coptic Synaxary in the Morgan collection (Fig. 5). The mannered pleat on the lower edge of the tunic worn by the outside angel in the same scene is again seen in Fig. 6, and its habitual use in Mozarabic drawing can be illustrated by numerous pages from the same Codex Vigilanus. Many of these drapery mannerisms persisted into the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, as shown by the mosaic at Cruas (Ardèche), dated 1098 (Fig. 8), where we find the same expressionless folds, the tubelike treatment of the drapery around the leg, and the conventional pleat I have mentioned above.

The figure style, on the other hand, even in the side panels, shows a marked advance beyond the examples already mentioned. The Mozarabic source is still apparent in the childish, elongated contours of the faces, but the waists are lengthened and the bodies are

¹Puig y Cadafalch, *op. cit.*, II, p. 85.

²Cf. Paliotto of Milan, N. Tarchiani, in *Dedalo*, II, 1921, pl. opposite p. 15; antiphonary of Salzburg, XI-XII century, Karl Lind, *Ein Antiphonarium mit Bilderschmuck aus der Zeit des XI. und XII. Jahrhunderts im Stifte St. Peter zu Salzburg befindlich*, Vienna, 1870, pl. IV (death of St. John the Evangelist).

³Puig y Cadafalch, *op. cit.*, III, fig. 767. In the will of Berenguer III, drawn in 1131, shortly before his death, by Udalgario, a monk of Ripoll, the ruler expressed the wish that he be buried in this monastery, and the tomb would hardly date earlier than this document (José Pellicer y Pagés, *Santa Maria del Monasterio de Ripoll*, Mataró, 1888, p. 116).

⁴Ernest Rupin, *L'abbaye et les cloîtres de Moissac*, Paris, 1897, fig. 165.

more slender. The general impression of slimmness is indicative of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. This is more than a superficial change; it is a change from a descriptive, two-dimensional treatment in line and flat tone to a mode of representation in three dimensions. The eyes are no longer the large staring orbs, drawn with two semicircular strokes around a central pupil, which, as Dieulafoy has remarked, "seem to eat up the faces," but an additional stroke is inserted between the upper lid and the eyebrow, as seen in the Bible of Roda (Figs. 10, 11). The lines of the hair are clearly indicated, a great advance beyond the old Latin formula of the tenth-century manuscripts, where the hair is treated in large, ill-defined masses. The mouth is more developed and the curve of the under lip and the suggestion of the chin are better indicated or expressed. The nose is no longer a mere Z stroke—a pure degradation of the old Hellenistic drawing of the three-quarters face, first assuming this form in Coptic illumination—¹ but an additional line is employed in the delineation of the nose which produces a more convincing effect of reality. The wings are not the large decorative appendages found in the middle of the eleventh century, as in the Facundus manuscript of the Commentary of Beatus on the Apocalypse (Fig. 9), but are smaller and more structural. In fact, the curious feature of representing one wing open and the other closed, as an irregular projection behind the back, shown on the figure of the angel in the scene of the death of St. Martin, is precisely the formula employed by the draughtsmen of the Bible of Roda (Fig. 11), which must be dated late in the eleventh if not early in the twelfth century, as will be shown later.²

Another feature which heightens the feeling of archaism is the treatment of the sway-backed steed which appears to be sinking to the earth under the weight of St. Martin. The impression of unreality produced by the bent foreleg and curving back is not wholly due to inability on the part of the artist to express anatomical truth but continues a traditional mode of representation of the eleventh century. The same features are found on an ivory relief from San Millán de la Cogolla,³ of the eleventh century, on the tomb of Doña Sancha, daughter of Ramiro I of Aragon,⁴ now in the convent of Benitas, at Jaca (Huesca), and in the Old Testament scenes of the Bible of Roda (Fig. 19).⁵ This mannerism may well be archaistic, however, and is certainly not sufficient to warrant an early dating, since it recurs in examples of the first half of the twelfth century, as on a capital at Saint-Lazare, Autun, in the scene of Balaam on the ass halted by an angel.⁶

Less archaism, however, is shown by the central figure of the Saviour in our panel, which is less linear and more monumental and plastic, with a sobriety of style symptomatic of the twelfth century. Comparison with the sculptured relief of the Saviour Enthroned in the choir ambulatory at Toulouse (Fig. 13), dated about the year 1100, reveals an identical treatment of hair, with the prominent parting over the forehead, the hair lines clearly delineated, and the lateral cascading locks falling behind the shoulders in the same fashion. We see the same highly placed diminutive ears, the same loop in the

¹Charles R. Morey, *East Christian Paintings in the Freer Collection*, New York, 1914, p. 79.

²This identity is not affected by the fact that the summary indication of the second wing of the angel occurs elsewhere in mediæval art, e. g., Gospels in the cathedral treasury at Trèves, 61 (*olim* 134), fol. 9a, illustrated in Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, IV, pl. 269 (for a color reproduction of this manuscript see J. O. Westwood, *Fac-similes of the Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish manuscripts*, London, 1868, pl. 19). The spiral termination is the essential feature; this spiral also appears as a Spanish peculiarity on the open wings of angels; cf. Fig. 9.

³Offered to San Millán de la Cogolla by Don Sancho III, el Mayor (1010-1038), according to Marcel Dieulafoy, *Art in Spain and Portugal*, New York, 1913, p. 87, fig. 180; Gómez-Moreno, in *Iglesias mozárabes*, Madrid, 1919, p. 295, n. 4, correctly places this in the year 1076.

⁴Antonio Ballesteros y Beretta, *Historia de España*, Barcelona, 1920, II, fig. 156.

⁵Cf. also Wilhelm Neuss, *Die katalanische Bibelillustration um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends und die altspanische Buchmalerei*, Bonn, Leipzig, 1922, figs. 92, 117, 131.

⁶Victor Terret, *La sculpture bourguignonne aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles*, Autun, Paris, 1914, pl. XVII.

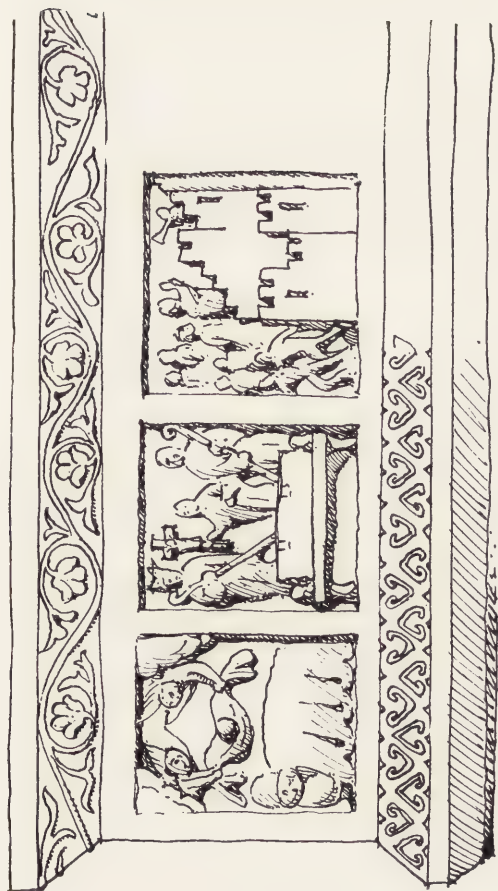


FIG. 7—RIPOLL, STA. MARIA DEL MONASTERIO: PART OF THE SARCOPHAGUS OF BERENGUER III, THE GREAT (DIED 1131)



FIG. 8—CRUAS (ARDÈCHE), PARISH CHURCH: PAVEMENT MOSAIC. A. D. 1098



FIG. 9—MADRID, BIBL. NAC.: FACUNDUS BEATUS, COD. V-1-1. PAGE OF MARK. A. D. 1047





FIG. 10—PARIS, BIBL. NAT.: BIBLE OF RODA, LAT. 6, FOL. 103v. APOCALYPTIC SCENE



FIG. 11—PARIS, BIBL. NAT.: BIBLE OF RODA, LAT. 6, FOL. 105. APOCALYPTIC SCENE



FIG. 12—PARIS, BIBL. NAT.: BIBLE OF RODA, LAT. 6, FOL. 105. APOCALYPTIC SCENE



drapery which passes under the right arm, and the same drapery pleat at the bottom, which we have noted as so prominent a feature of the tenth-century manuscripts of Leon-Castile.

The most interesting analogies to our Christ, however, are to be found in the last pages (Revelation) of the Bible of Roda, wherein we may also find the key to the curious contrast between our central panel and the archaistic Life of St. Martin. In the scene of the Last Judgment in this manuscript (Fig. 12) Christ is enthroned on a cushioned plain wooden throne within a pointed mandorla. The upper edge of the tunic is scalloped, and the wide sleeve curves under the right arm with much the same contour as in our panel; the outline of the edge of the mantle, as it passes over the left shoulder, is the same, and the mantle falls in the same hood-like folds over the knee, an old manuscript tradition found as early as the Ada group of the Carolingian school. The hair is treated in two large, overlapping curls, the final portion falling behind the back, with parallel lines delineating the locks as in the St.-Sernin relief, typical features which are duplicated in other pages from the same Catalan Bible (Fig. 10). Another figure of Christ practically identical with that seen in the Roda Bible and in our panel with respect to the characteristic features cited above (throne, scalloped tunic, hair) is to be found in a Catalan manuscript dated by Beer in the twelfth century (Fig. 14).¹ The illogical drawing of the side folds in the waist of Christ's tunic—three vertical lines, from which emerges a segment of a circle—seems to be a misunderstanding of some such design as that shown in Fig. 15, an initial Q from a manuscript of the *Moralia* of Gregory the Great, dated by Gudiol in the twelfth century.

It is evident, certainly, that the type of Christ used here belonged to the tradition in which the draughtsmen of the Bible of Roda were schooled. If we compare our panel with the Christ in Majesty used in the Roda Bible and shown in Figs. 10, 12, where the folds which fall from the knees accentuate the shape of the legs beneath the tunic, we note that our artist, misinterpreting the *motif*, has placed the feet together on the central axis so that they fail to function. The stiff, board-like treatment of the drapery which falls below the knees in rigid folds finds again a close parallel in the Gospels of Perpignan (Fig. 16), a Catalan manuscript from the monastery of Sant Miquel de Cuixà, dated by Boinet as not earlier than the last quarter of the twelfth century.² The curious rendering of the lower hem is difficult to understand, but it becomes intelligible as a perverted copy the moment we look at the lower edge of the angel's drapery in the illustration cited above from the *Moralia* of Gregory (Fig. 15). The scallops on the upper edge of the tunic are also without meaning, since they are not the termination of folds as in the manuscript examples cited, and equally meaningless is the curve in the mantle on the left shoulder. From so many solecisms we can only conclude that our artist was imitating a style not his own and with consequent lack of logic.

What is this style? Our comparisons show sufficiently clearly that it is a style used in Catalonia through the twelfth century, and best illustrated in the Roda Bible, written in all probability in the Catalan monastery of Santa Maria at Ripoll. But it is also self-evident, if we compare the Roda style with the Mozarabic manuscripts shown in Figs. 6, 9, and the Cruas mosaic of 1098 (Fig. 8), that it has nothing in common with this "playing-card puppet manner" of inactive poses, conventional restraint, and two-dimensional

¹Rudolf Beer, *Die Handschriften des Klosters Santa Maria de Ripoll*, *Sitzungsberichte d. Kais. Akad. der Wissensch. in Wien, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 158, 2, Vienna, 1908, pl. 4, p. 41.

²Amédée Boinet, *Notice sur un évangélaire de la bibliothèque de Perpignan*, *Congrès archéologique de France, LXXIII session tenue à Carcassonne et Perpignan*, Paris, Caen, 1907, p. 547.

treatment, derived from late classic models of the Latin West. The illustrations of the Roda Bible, particularly those of the Old Testament (Fig. 19), are nervous and unrestrained; the spirited and calligraphic drawing is strikingly similar to that of eleventh-century England. It is, moreover, no longer a style whose vocabulary is color, as in the Mozarabic manuscripts, but line; and outline drawing is the most striking feature of English illumination. It is not our purpose here to explain how the style was transferred to Catalonia, but there are clear indications that its appearance here is a reflection of English influence in the manuscript style of southern France.

The identity of the style of the miniatures of the Roda Bible with English work is apparent from a comparison with the illustrations of the Junius manuscript of Caedmon's poems (Figs. 17, 18).¹ In both manuscripts a circular crown is worn with three curving sprays rising from the brim, which is pushed far down over the forehead (Fig. 12; cf. also Caedmon, Kennedy-Morey, p. 240, and Roda, Neuss, figs. 91, 98, 99, 100), and in both we note the same characteristic pointed beard, terminating in double strands (cf. Caedmon, Kennedy-Morey, pp. 197, 198, 224, 225, 236 and Roda, Neuss, figs. 95, 98, 101, and *passim*).

Further comparison multiplies analogies. The figures wear the same short tunics, cut high above the knees with a roll around the waist, or long robes rendered in outline drawing with the same nervous pen strokes characteristic of all English illumination of the eleventh century. The garments in both manuscripts are more subdued and formal when compared with the exuberant manuscript style of the early-eleventh-century school of Winchester, where the draperies swirl and flutter in violent folds. But the same animation lies behind both. The miniatures of Roda show the same restless motion; the elongated figures lean far forward, heads jut truculently from the shoulders, the gestures are unrestrained and full of action; arms and spears are raised menacingly; horses, camels, and elephants engage in violent scenes of battle (Fig. 19); and the figures tread on the same billowy ground line which undulates across the pages of Caedmon (Fig. 17). Further analogies may be noted in the treatment of foliage with interlacing branches (Fig. 17; cf. Caedmon, Kennedy-Morey, *passim*, and Roda, Neuss, fig. 100). Occasionally the Catalan artist abandons the Mozarabic forms of architecture for the ultra-classical arcades with towers, turrets and housetops terminating in foliate roofs and pinnacles, seen in Caedmon (Caedmon, Kennedy-Morey, pp. 207, 221, 223; Roda, Neuss, figs. 102, 106, 120). At times one finds a composition in the Catalan Bible closely resembling that of the English manuscript (Caedmon, Kennedy-Morey, p. 198; Roda, Neuss, fig. 90).

The parallels shown must convince the most casual observer that the Anglo-Saxon element was predominant in this Bible rather than the old manuscript style of Mozarabic Spain. That this style continued in Catalonia well on through the twelfth century is shown by the *Moralia* of Gregory (Fig. 15), a Missal in Tortosa,² the *Homilies* of Bede in the church of San Feliu at Gerona,³ and the Gospels of Perpignan (Fig. 16); that it continued even into the thirteenth century is shown by a *Libro de los Fuedos* in the Crown Archives of Barcelona. With this connection established, it is obvious that the Old Testament miniatures of the Roda manuscript cannot be dated in the first half of the eleventh

¹Charles W. Kennedy, *The Caedmon Poems*, London, 1916, with a preface on the drawings of the Junius MS. by Charles R. Morey, which contains reduced copies of the illuminated pages taken from *Archæologia*, XXIV, 1832. Selections have also been reproduced in the Palæographical Society's *Fac-similes of Manuscripts and Inscriptions*, II, 14, 15. Abundant illustrations of the Bible of Roda are to be found in the recently published work of Neuss.

²Illustration in my article, *The Stucco Altar-Frontals of Catalonia*, in *Art Studies*, Princeton, II.

³Neuss, *op. cit.*, figs. 157-164.



FIG. 13—TOULOUSE, ST.-SERVIN: Relief in the Ambulatory. c. 1100



FIG. 14—BARCELONA, CROWN ARCHIVES: THEORIA, COD. 214, FOL. 6 v. TWELFTH CENTURY

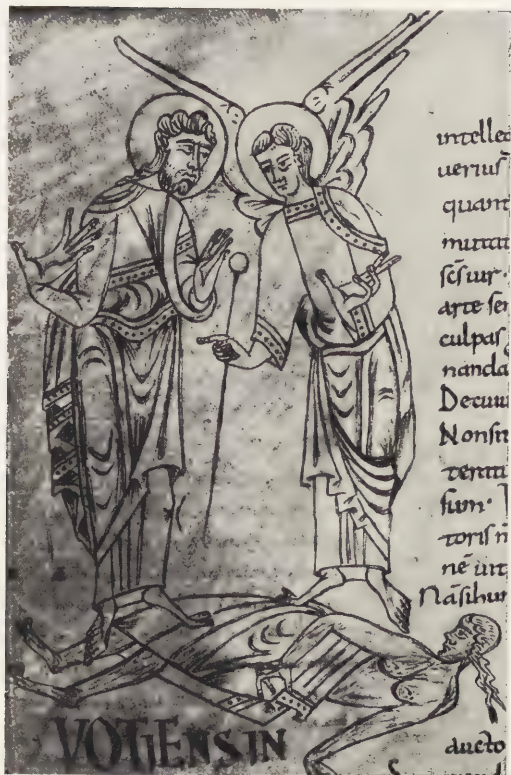


FIG. 15—VICH, EPISCOPAL MUSEUM: INITIAL Q IN THE MORALIA OF GREGORY THE GREAT, COD. I, FOL. 170. TWELFTH CENTURY



FIG. 16—PERPIGNAN, MUNICIPAL LIBRARY: CATALAN GOSPELS, COD. I, FOL. 2. LATE TWELFTH CENTURY





FIG. 17—OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY: CAEDMON, JUNIUS XI, FOL. 24. FALL OF EVE. SECOND QUARTER ELEVENTH CENTURY



FIG. 19—PARIS, BIBL. NAT.: BIBLE OF RODA, LAT. 6, FOL. 145. BATTLE OF BETHZACHARIAS

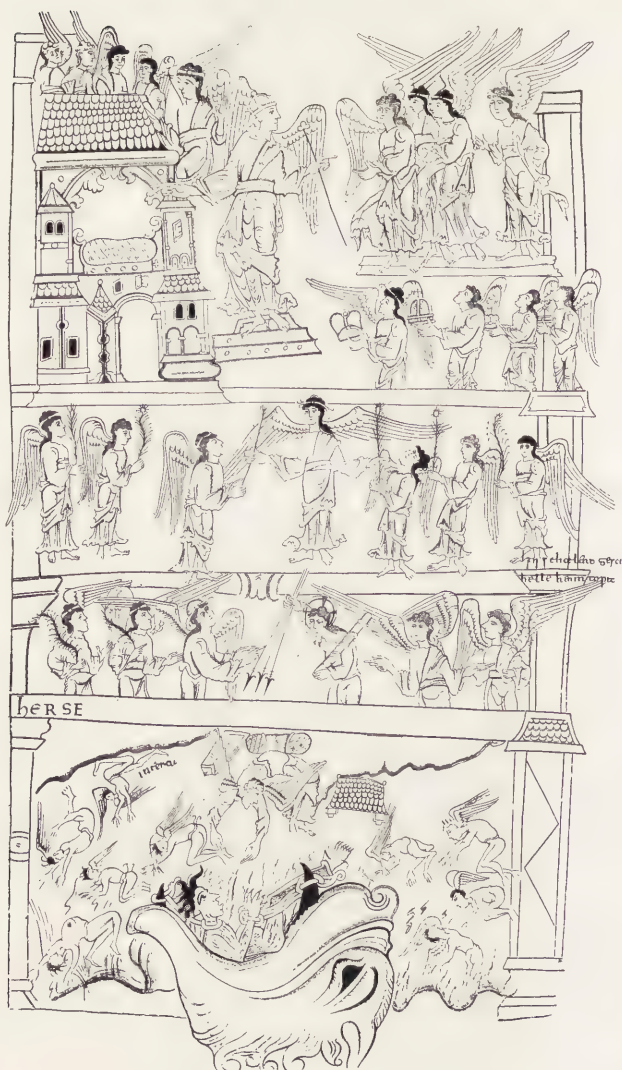


FIG. 18—OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY: CAEDMON, JUNIUS XI, FOL. 3. FALL OF THE ANGELS. SECOND QUARTER ELEVENTH CENTURY



FIG. 20—LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM: ARUNDEL PSALTER, MS. 60, FOL. 52 v. NEW MINSTER, WINCHESTER. c. 1060



century, as concluded by Neuss,¹ who, in his enumeration of the elements of the Roda style (Mozarabic, Byzantine, Coptic, Moslem) entirely overlooked this dominant influence in the Roda miniatures. The derivation from England shows that such a date is impossible for the miniatures since we have found their prototypes in the Caedmon, the illustrations of which have been dated by Professor Morey in the second quarter of the eleventh century.² The style could hardly have reached Catalonia before the second half of the eleventh, and the last few pages of Roda, illustrating the Book of Revelation (Figs. 10, 11, 12), which are obviously by a later hand, must be placed as late as the early years of the twelfth century. It is in these last pages that we have found so many analogies with our panel, and their style, when compared with that of the Old Testament miniatures (Fig. 19), is seen to be distinctly later; the short figures, the bullet-like heads, and the drapery bound in at the ankles and flaring out at the sides are treated in a manner almost proto-Gothic, as shown by an angel on the west façade of Chartres.³ This dating would also explain the relative sobriety of the outline style in the Roda manuscript when compared with the freer manner of the artist who illustrated the Caedmon poems. The Christ of our panel is therefore a Catalan translation of a style that is English in origin.

An English source is further indicated in the scroll ornament which surrounds the composition and the foliate heart *motif* which appears in the spandrels of the central panel. The latter is clearly derived from Franco-Saxon work of the ninth century, as shown by the Egerton manuscript 768 in the British Museum (initial IN of this article),⁴ but the panel-painter renders it in a leaf-like Winchester style. The palmette which he uses on the frame, consisting of four leaves with a central flos, is Oriental in origin and is found in Saracenic examples of the tenth century, both in Egypt and Moslem Spain, as shown in a late tenth-century silver-gilt casket in the cathedral of Gerona (Fig. 22),⁵ in Byzantine manuscripts and ivories,⁶ and in Rhenish sculpture and illumination from the ninth through

¹*Op. cit.*, p. 29. Professor Porter dates the Roda Bible in the X century (*Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, Boston, 1923, p. 29), but he has apparently confused this manuscript with the early folios of the Bible of Farfa, of which a page is reproduced by José Pijoan, *Les miniatures de l'octateuch des bibles romanesques catalanes* (Institut d'Estudis Catalans, IV, pp. 475 ff.). There is no evidence to support Prof. Porter's suggestion that "the draperies of Catalan manuscripts, such as, for example, the tenth-century Bible of Roda, are thoroughly German."

²Kennedy-Morey, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

³P. F. Marcou, *Album du musée de sculpture comparée, 1re-2e série*, Paris, pl. 62. Neuss admits (p. 27) that the Bible of Roda and that of Farfa (on whose eleventh-century date he bases his dating of the Roda Bible) show wide divergencies, that while the Genesis scenes are somewhat alike in the two manuscripts, the illustrations of the Prophets are quite different in the Roda Bible. Neuss states that the text of Roda is earlier but that its illuminations are later than those of Farfa, evidently having in mind, in this statement, the Apocalypse miniatures referred to above. Even if the Bible of Roda is accepted as one of the three bibles mentioned in the catalogue of the Ripoll library of 1047, no evidence has yet been offered to prove that the miniatures were already in the manuscript at that time. The diversity of hands in the text and illustrations make a unity of date improbable.

⁴Egerton MS. 768, George F. Warner, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 1903, pl. 6; Evangelary of Saint-Vaast d'Arras, Amédée Boinet, *La miniature carolingienne*, Paris, 1913, pl. XCIV; Evangelary of Francis II, Bibl. Nat., lat. 257, Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. XCVIII; Second Bible of Charles the Bald, Bibl. Nat., Paris, lat. 2, Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. C; Sacramentary of Saint-Thierry de Rheims, Municipal library, Rheims, 213, Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. CIII; Evangelary of Egmont, the Hague, Royal library, AA. 260, Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. CX, (IX-X century); Evangelary, Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, 592, X-XI century, Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. CXII.

⁵Enrique Claudio Girbel, *Arqueta-relicario del catedral de Gerona*, in *Museo español de antigüedades*, vol. 8, pp. 331 ff.; 38 x 23 cm. Other Moslem examples of this palmette are found in the rose window in the Fatimite mosque of El-Akmar, Cairo, (Gaston Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman, les arts plastiques et industriels*, Paris, 1907, fig. 52); a window frame of the minaret el-Hakim, and a frieze in the Arabic Museum, Cairo, (Strzygowski, *Mschatta*, figs. 100, 101); an Hispano-Moresque ivory casket, Musée des arts décoratifs, Paris, dated 965, (Alois Riegl, *Stilfragen*, Berlin 1893, fig. 174); a doorway arch, mosque of Cordova, (Constantin Uhde, *Baudenkmaeler in Spanien und Portugal*, Berlin, 1892, vol. I, fig. 103); a Moslem window frame at Tarragona, (Puig y Cadafalch, *L'arquitectura romànica*, vol. I, fig. 469). The adoption of the Oriental type is found in the twelfth-century stone capitals of the monastery of Santa Maria at Ripoll, (Puig y Cadafalch, *op. cit.*, III, figs. 451, 455).

⁶Headpiece from the Gospel of St. Luke, dated 1128, Vatican Library, Rome, (Strzygowski, *Mschatta*, fig. 103); headpiece from the Gospel of St. John, (*Évangiles avec peintures byzantines du XIe siècle*, vol. II, pl. 142); outside face of arch in the cathedral of Monreale, (Domenico B. Gravina, *Il duomo di Monreale*, 1859, pl. 14 A) (cf. Riegl, *op. cit.*, fig. 181); ivory triptych, X century, Emile Molinier, *Catalogue des ivoires*, Paris, 1896, no. 12.

the eleventh and twelfth centuries.¹ On our panel, however, the treatment of the *motif* is neither Moslem nor Byzantine, but English. The absence of convention and formal schematization, the occasional termination of the flos in a bud, and the general impression of a young plant about to unfold are peculiarly characteristic of eleventh-century ornament of the school of Canterbury. The tightly curled leaf, at the end of each of the small sprays, is reminiscent of the English bud-like leaf which curls over at the tip, as shown in the Arundel Psalter, dated about 1060, in the British Museum (Fig. 20).² The essential quality of the pattern in our panel, the extreme reduction of the foliate character and the consequent emphasis on the stems, is characteristic of ornament at the end of the eleventh and in the twelfth century, especially in North French, Flemish, and English examples, when the leaf disappears almost completely and the stems become like tightly coiled springs.³ The curious closing of the stem around the palmette, at the corners and at the middle of each side of the frame, to form a medallion, approximates the six or eight rosettes of an English border,⁴ and is equally suggestive, in the disposition of the medallions, of the highly stylized rinceaux found in Moslem work, as that on the mosque of Ibn-Tulun at Cairo.⁵ We may accordingly conclude that our artist is employing a Mozarabic *motif*, modified and treated in a western fashion under the influence of English illumination. More significant than the origin of this ornament, and important for the date of our panel, is the appearance of the identical *motif*—long-drawn-out wave, palmettes, and sprays—on the carved border of the lid of the sarcophagus of Berenguer III, the Great, at Ripoll, who, as above stated, died in 1131 (Fig. 7). It is also to be noted, however, that Dieulafoy is entirely wrong in identifying our border with that on the lintel of Saint-Genis-des-Fontaines,⁶ since in the latter we have a wave with *half* palmettes, a common ornament quite different from the peculiar design on our panel. Dieulafoy's date, the first half of the eleventh century, based on the Saint-Genis lintel (1020–1021), must therefore be rejected.

The strong dependence of our artist on models derived from illumination is shown by certain mannerisms of draughtsmanship common to manuscripts, such as the rendering of the feet, where a single line is continued down over the foot and along the big toe, as on the angel who holds the soul of St. Martin (*cf.* Figs. 1, 6, 18). In the use of red, orange, yellow, and green, in full intensities, and the effective color contrast of red and yellow backgrounds the artist employs a time-honored formula which is native to the manuscript style of Spain, and is unlike that of any other country. Numerous analogies have been shown between the figure and drapery style of the Saviour in the central compartment and Catalan illumination, and specifically indicative of the artist's dependence on manuscript models are the foliate corner pieces with which he fills the spandrels of the central compartment.

¹Ada group ivory, IX century, (Adolph Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser*, Berlin, 1914, vol. I, fig. 174); ivory bucket, cathedral treasury, Aix-la-Chapelle, c. 1014, Rhine school; Rhenish book-cover, private collection, Munich, middle XI century; portable altar, Belgian, Namur cathedral, middle XI century (Goldschmidt *op. cit.*, vol. II, figs. 22, 37, 61); title-page of Gospel of St. Mark, Evangeliary of Emperor Otto III, XI century, Royal Library, Munich (Georg Leidinger, *Miniaturen aus Handschriften der kgl. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München*, München, vol. I, pl. 25); Evangeliary from the cathedral treasury of Bamberg (Leidinger, *op. cit.*, vol. VI, pl. 21); golden altar of Henry II, XI century, Cluny Museum (Giraudon photograph, no. 15357); border of bronze door, Gnesen cathedral, XII century (George Dehio and Gust. v. Bezold, *Die Denkmäler der deutschen Bildhauerkunst*, Berlin, pls. I, VI).

²Illustrated in color by Westwood, *Fac-similes*, pl. 49. Also see Warner, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 1903, pl. XI; Warner, *Reproductions from Illuminated Manuscripts*, Series II, London, 1910, pls. VII, VIII; J. P. Gilson, *Schools of Illumination*, Part I, London, 1914, pl. 16.

³Bible, XII century, Henry N. Humphreys and Owen Jones, *The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages*, London, 1849, pl. IX.

⁴Grimbald Gospels, Add. MS. 34, 890, early XI century, Warner, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 1903, pl. IX.

⁵J.-J. Marquet de Vasselot, in Michel's *Histoire de l'art*, I, 2, fig. 468.

⁶Dieulafoy, *op. cit.*, p. 117.



FIG. 21—LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM: BEATUS, ADD. MS. 11, 695 FROM STO. DOMINGO DE SILOS. ATTACK ON JERUSALEM. c. 1109



FIG. 22—GERONA, CATHEDRAL: SILVER-GILT CASKET. LATE TENTH CENTURY



The date of this work has already been clearly indicated by the numerous stylistic comparisons with monuments of the first half of the twelfth century. No panel in the entire series has been so frequently published and so variously dated; but previous writers (Puiggarí, Gudiol, Muñoz, Dieulafoy, Bertaux, Mâle, Mayer), misled by the archaistic scenes in the lateral compartments, have placed it either in the tenth or eleventh century.¹ Comparison with Mozarabic manuscripts (Figs. 6, 9) shows that our panel is much more advanced in style. Details such as St. Martin's shield, lance, pennant, saddle, and stirrup (Fig. 1) find close parallels in the St. Sever Beatus manuscript, executed between 1028 and 1072, the Bayeux tapestry, which Mr. Loomis has definitely proved to belong in the second half of the eleventh century, and the Old Testament pages of the Bible of Roda. But these features are by no means limited to the eleventh century. The late Latin style reflected in the St. Martin scenes persists also in the floor mosaic of Cruas, dated 1098 (Fig. 8), and the Beatus manuscript completed in 1109 at the Abbey of Santo Domingo de Silos (Fig. 21). The banner carried by St. Martin is almost identical with that seen in Fig. 21, and the sway-backed steed and stumbling gait appear on the capital at Autun, as well as on earlier monuments. Close analogies with the late-eleventh-century capital in the cloister at Moissac have been noted, but these features also appear on the twelfth-century tomb of Berenguer the Great, at Ripoll (Fig. 7), where we have found such significant parallels to our panel in respect to iconography (translation of the soul, composition, and the cross held in the death scene) and ornament (identical borders on the panel and tomb). Moreover, the treatment of the lower lid of the eye of the Saviour as a straight line is found as late as the middle of the twelfth century in the frescoes of the church of St.-Gille at Montoire,² in the twelfth-century fresco of Sant Miquel de la Seo,³ and on a page of twelfth-century style in the Archæological Museum at Madrid (Fig. 36). The palæography is equally consistent with the late eleventh or early twelfth century. Although valuable as a *terminus a quo*, palæography is frequently not an accurate basis for dating, and in this panel the decorative character of the letters is strong evidence that the artist was embellishing an old *motif*.

Lastly, we find unmistakable twelfth-century style in the monumental and plastic quality of the figure of the Saviour in the central panel, which shows such close analogies to the St.-Sernin relief and to the last pages of the Roda Bible, and even approaches in its stiff drapery and uncompromising pose the figure of the Saviour in the late-twelfth-century Gospels of Perpignan (Fig. 16).

A *terminus ad quem* is afforded by the dependence of the artist on models derived from illumination and since, in general, the dominance of manuscript illumination in Romanesque monumental painting and sculpture is less apparent after 1150, such a reminiscence would be evidence against too late a date. The panel should therefore be dated after the year 1100, in the first quarter of the twelfth century.

¹José Puiggarí, *Album de la sección arqueológica, Exposición universal de Barcelona*, 1888, (*Asociación artístico-arqueológica barcelonesa*), p. 13, X century; *Catálogo del Museo Arqueológico-Artístico Episcopal de Vich*, Vich, 1893, p. 67, X century. José Gudiol y Cunill, *Nocions de Arqueologia Sagrada Catalana*, Vich, 1902, p. 274, X century; *Les pintures romàniques del museo de Vich*, in *Forma*, Barcelona, 1904, p. 70, X century. Antonio Muñoz, *Pittura Romanica Catalana: I paliotti dipinti dei Musei di Vich e di Barcellona*, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, *Anuari*, I, p. 98, early XI century. Marcel Dieulafoy, *op. cit.*, p. 117, first half XI century. Puig y Cadafalch, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 339, no date. Émile Bertaux, *La peinture du XIe au XIVe siècle en Espagne*, in Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, II, I, fig. 292, p. 415, about 1075. Émile Mâle, *op. cit.*, fig. 158, p. 226, possibly XI century. August L. Mayer, *Geschichte der Spanischen Malerei*, Leipzig, 1922, p. 17, early XI century.

²P. Gélis-Didot and H. Laffillée, *La peinture décorative en France du XIe au XVIe siècle*, Paris, pl. 5, 1.

³*Pintures murals catalanes*, fasc. II, pl. VII.

(2) THE ALTAR-CANOPY AT VICH

A panel later in date than the preceding but which belongs to the same early group is a fragment of an altar-canopy, also preserved in the Episcopal Museum at Vich (Fig. 23).¹ In its present condition it is little more than one quarter of its original size when placed over the altar, but enough remains to show that the original composition consisted of a large central mandorla containing the figure of Christ, flanked on either side by four attendant angels.

The preserved upper portion shows the Saviour within a mandorla, seated on a cushioned wooden throne embellished with jewels. He has a crossed nimbus, and a green tunic open at the throat, embroidered with a rich border of roundels at the neck and a quatrefoil design at the wrist. A full red mantle falls over the arms in large sinuous folds. He blesses with His right hand and holds in His left an open Book of the Gospels, on which is inscribed PAX LEO. The facial type is similar to the preceding: long, thin features; heavy, dark red curls falling along the shoulders; diminutive ears; eyes with the lower lids rendered by straight strokes; long nose; small mouth; pointed moustaches and beard. The mandorla is composed of three parallel bands of color in imitation of the rainbow.²

Each corner of the panel contained originally two angels. Those in the upper right corner are still preserved intact; the angel nearest the mandorla points toward the Saviour and holds a standard with trifid banner in the left hand, the other holds a staff and rotulus. The two angels who occupied a corresponding position directly beneath these figures, on the same side of the mandorla, are now missing. A nimbed head and the tips of the wings, however, can still be seen. In the upper left corner another angel points toward the Saviour. Each is represented with long wings, red tunic, and mantle.

The fragment of an inscription in hexameters, written in mixed majuscules, around the edge of the mandorla, reads,

AD ME SPEM VITE DVCE ME — — — — (VENITE?)

— — — — QVISQVIS SVPER ASTRA LEVATVR

which can be translated literally, "To me, the hope of life, lead me . . . whosoever rises above the stars." Another Leonine fragment, written on the horizontal band which divided the panel, reads,

— — — — (ERV?)M LVX ET FORMA DIERVVM

The phrase is evidently descriptive, "light and beauty of the days."

¹Not included in the catalogue of the Museum at Vich; photograph by Thomas, no. 352; tempera on panel.

²The use of the almond-shaped mandorla with concentric bands of colors, to represent the rainbow, does not occur among the other Catalan antependia, and deserves a brief mention. It is first found as a common type in the ninth century, where broad bands of color radiate from the figure of the Saviour, as in the Gospels of Dufay, the Codex Aureus of Saint-Emmeran of Ratisbon, finished in 870, the Bible of Saint-Paul-Without-the-Walls, and the Metz Sacramentary (Amédée Boinet, *La miniature carolingienne*, Paris, 1913, pls. LVI, CXVI, CXXV, CXXXII, CXXXIII). It is not common among the manuscripts of the Ottonian period, although isolated instances are found, as in the Sacramentary of Henry II (G. Swarzenski, *Regensburger Malerei*, pl. VIII, no. 19); in a Psalter in the University Library at Leipzig (G. Swarzenski, *Salzburger Malerei*, pl. XXVIII, fig. 96); and it is met again in the twelfth-century Bible of Gebhard at Admont (Robert Bruck, *Die Malereien in den Handschriften des Königreichs Sachsen*, Dresden, 1906, fig. 22). From the illuminated manuscripts it passed into the repertoire of the fresco painters. In Italy it appears in the eleventh-century church of St. Vincent at Galliano (Pietro Toesca, *La pittura et la miniatura nella Lombardia*, Milan, 1912, fig. 29). It is common during the twelfth century in France: church of Saint-Gille, Montoire, Loir-et-Cher (Gélis-Didot et Laffillée, *op. cit.*, pl. 5, (1)), and in Catalonia: Sant Miquel d'Angulasters, Sant Climent de Tahull, Santa Maria de Tahull (*Pintures murals catalanes*, fasc. II, fig. 19, fasc. III, pls. XI, XIII). The use of an inscription on the outer edge of the mandorla is also derived from the Carolingian period and can be seen in the Codex Aureus mentioned above, and in Romanesque frescoes and sculpture as at Saint-Savin and Cluny (Victor Terret, *op. cit.*, pls. XLIX-L, LIII-LIV).



FIG. 23—VICH, EPISCOPAL MUSEUM: FRAGMENT OF AN ALTAR-CANOPI. FIRST HALF OF TWELFTH CENTURY



The entire composition was originally enclosed within a narrow border consisting of a zigzag ribbon ornament with leaf filling, of which a portion can still be seen on the right and along the upper edge. A fragment of one of the lateral beams which supported the canopy (not shown in Fig. 23) is embellished with a series of medallions containing animals, and a scene of the Last Supper.

The zigzag ribbon with triangular leaf filling is an old *motif* in mediæval art, which can be seen in a crude form as early as the eighth century in Merovingian manuscripts.¹ Later it is particularly favored by the German illuminators and appears in eleventh and twelfth-century Ottonian manuscripts.² Lombardy shows the *motif* in a manuscript of this period at Novara and in a twelfth-century ceiling fresco at Civate.³ It is used on the west front of Chartres in the twelfth century on the border of the cap of a King of Judah,⁴ and it continues as late as the thirteenth century in French frescoes.⁵ In Catalonia it is found in the twelfth-century fresco at Santa Maria de Tahull,⁶ but with a rosette filling, and in the thirteenth century, in a form similar to our panel, at Lieso and Ibieca in Aragon.⁷ The identical *motif* noted in our panel, with the same trefoil filling, occupies a prominent place on the façade of the monastery of Santa Maria at Ripoll (on the inner order of the archivolt, continued down the inner order of the door jamb and along the border of the attic.)⁸

In the figures numerous details betray the all-powerful influence exerted by the school of Languedoc sculpture as exemplified by Moissac, Souillac, and Beaulieu. The unusually elongated angels, placed on either side of the Saviour, at once suggest the stature and appearance of the corresponding figures in the tympanum at Moissac, dated between 1115 and 1130 (Fig. 24). The stance of the two angels in our panel, on either side of the mandorla, with one leg straight and the other bent, standing on tiptoe with toes barely touching the ground, is similar to that of the St. Peter on the door jamb at Moissac (Fig. 25) and to that of the trumpeting angel on the left of the Saviour at Beaulieu, dated before 1135 by Mâle.⁹ Moreover, the wings of our angels do not show the early Spanish spiral joint at the angles but are clearly simplifications of the wings of the angels in the tympanum at Moissac.

The analogy is even more apparent in the treatment of the drapery. The full mantle is draped over both arms in large sinuous folds, as on the figure of the Saviour in the Moissac tympanum (Fig. 24). The use of concentric overlapping folds is again analogous to the treatment found at Moissac, Beaulieu, and Souillac. At Moissac (figure of the Saviour, angel, and symbol of Matthew on the left, elder in center below; cf. also Isaiah of Souillac and Christ of Beaulieu) the outline of the belly is marked by a small

¹Evangeliary of Gudohinus, fol. 188a, MS. no. 3, municipal library, Autun, dated about 751-754 (Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, I, pl. 84). Evangeliary of Cuthbert, about 770, written in southern England, where the triangular leaf filling is employed on either side of the zigzag, although not a ribbon (*ibid.*, IV, pl. 305).

²Gospels of Emperor Otto III, on an arch of a canon table; the foliate filling has five leaves with a central roundel (Leidinger, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 1). Gospel book of Henry IV, late XI, early XII century; the ribbon is identical, but the leaf filling is different, being the same as that found in the perspective lozenge border on a panel in the Barcelona Museum, (Swarzenski, *Die Regensburger Buchmalerei*, Leipzig, 1901, pl. XXXIV, no. 94). Liutold Gospels, Hofbibliothek, Vienna, cod. 1244, XII century (Swarzenski, *Salzburger Malerei*, pl. LXXX, fig. 266). Salzburger Graduale, Stiftsbibl., St. Peter, cod. A, IX, 11, XII century, (Swarzenski, *ibid.*, pl. CXXXIV, fig. 452).

³Pietro Toesca, *op. cit.*, figs. 54, 74.

⁴Et. Houbert, *Cathédrale de Chartres, Portail occidental ou royal*, pl. 16; also cf. stained glass window of Suger at St. Denis (Martin et Cahier, *Monographie de la cathédrale de Bourges, Vitraux*, pl. XI).

⁵Tour Ferrande, at Pernes, Vaucluse (Gélis-Didot et Laffillée, *op. cit.*).

⁶*Pintures murales catalanes*, fasc. III, fig. 29.

⁷Illustrated in *Vell i Nou (primera epoca)*, July 1, 1919.

⁸Puig y Cadafalch, *op. cit.*, III, fig. 1203.

⁹*Op. cit.*, p. 179, fig. 137.

fillet. The illogical drapery of the Moissac Christ includes a complicated fold, crossing the waist. This feature has been conventionalized by our artist (Fig. 23) into a wide sash which begins and ends nowhere, and the belly contour has been lowered to a deep semicircle that belies anatomy, producing a long-waisted figure and increasing the effect of height. The Saviour's tunic, which has a deep slit at the throat, richly embroidered with roundels, is also similar to that worn by many of the twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse at Moissac. A similar treatment of the garment is seen elsewhere: on the twelfth-century reliefs of the Doubting Thomas, and Christ with the disciples of Emmaus in the cloister of Santo Domingo de Silos, where the slit is smaller;¹ on several figures on the west façade of Chartres;² and in a twelfth-century missal at Tortosa (Fig. 33). The embroidered border on the neck of the tunic worn by the angels, which descends off center to the right, is paralleled by a similar ornament on the Christ in a fresco at Montoire and on the Apostles in the fresco of Sant Climent de Tahull,³ both of the twelfth century. Even the contour of the drapery fold at the lower edge of the angels' tunics, and the corresponding folds of the Saviour's mantle, draped over the left arm, represent an attempt to approximate similar folds in Languedoc sculpture. At Moissac, Beaulieu, and Souillac (Isaiah and tympanum bas-relief),⁴ the drapery folds, with heavily jewelled border, are pressed down as if by a hot iron, an unusual, mannered treatment which may be traced to English influence, inasmuch as the identical feature is to be found in the Arundel Psalter from New Minster, of about 1060 (Fig. 20).⁵ In our panel, however, the folds are stiff and lack the crispness of the Languedoc and English examples, and the hand of the imitator has ignored or minimized the indentation of the upper edge.

Even more suggestive of southern France is the use of the Languedoc "flying fold," of which the design discussed above is merely the termination. This is especially well shown on the figure of the angel in the upper right hand corner of our panel (Fig. 23), which shows a drapery treatment similar to that of the Saviour in the tympanum at Moissac (Fig. 24). This also appears on the figure of St. Peter on the jamb below (Fig. 25), and on the Mary of the Visitation in the porch reliefs (Fig. 26). It appears here as a single large fold, crossing the lower body and lifted at the outer edge as if by a gentle breeze. This is quite different from the Burgundian treatment, where the figures are draped in clinging folds which are tossed about tempestuously by fitful, violent gusts of wind, as seen on the sculptured portals of Autun and Vézelay,⁶ and in illumination analogous to them, such as an eleventh-century manuscript of Prudentius at Lyons (Fig. 30).⁷ The long curve before the outward sweep, and the extreme rigidity of the final effect, which makes the lifted fold on either side of our angel's mantle seem so petrified, are found again in the draperies of the angels at Beaulieu, and indeed the stone models from which our painter worked have thus preserved their hardness in the copy. But our panel lacks the crisp sparkle of the earlier Languedoc examples such as Moissac and shows the conventional hardness of outline which is especially characteristic of English illumination during the

¹Émile Bertaux, *La sculpture chrétienne en Espagne des origines au XIV siècle*, in A. Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, II, 1, fig. 181.

²Queen of Judah, left bay, left side; Virgin of the Visitation, tympanum of right bay; the twins, voussours of right bay (Et. Huvé, *op. cit.*, pls. 7, 53, 73).

³Gélis-Didot and Laffillée, *op. cit.*, pl. 5. *Peintures murales catalanes*, fasc. III, pl. XIV.

⁴Vitry and Brière, *Documents de sculpture française du moyen âge*, Paris, 1904, pl. VIII (2); A. Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, I, 2, fig. 342.

⁵The evolution of the design can be seen by turning the pages of Warner's reproductions of English manuscripts (Series II, 1910) of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

⁶Mâle, *op. cit.*, fig. 190.

⁷Several pages from the manuscript (Lyons, Bibl. de l'Académie de Lyon, no. 22) are illustrated by Richard Stettiner, *Die illustrierten Prudentiushandschriften*, Berlin, 1905, pls. 109 ff.



FIG. 24—MOISSAC, ST.-PIERRE: TYMPANUM



FIG. 25—MOISSAC, ST.-PIERRE: ST. PETER ON
DOOR JAMB



FIG. 26—MOISSAC, ST.-PIERRE: PORCH RELIEFS







FIG. 27—LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM: LANSDOWNE PSALTER, MS. 383, FOL. 15. c. 1170



FIG. 28—PARIS, BIBL. NAT.: ST. SEVER BEATUS, LAT. 8878, FOL. 29. c. 1072



FIG. 29—CAMBRIDGE, PEMBROKE COLLEGE: LATIN GOSPELS. ELY (?). ELEVENTH CENTURY

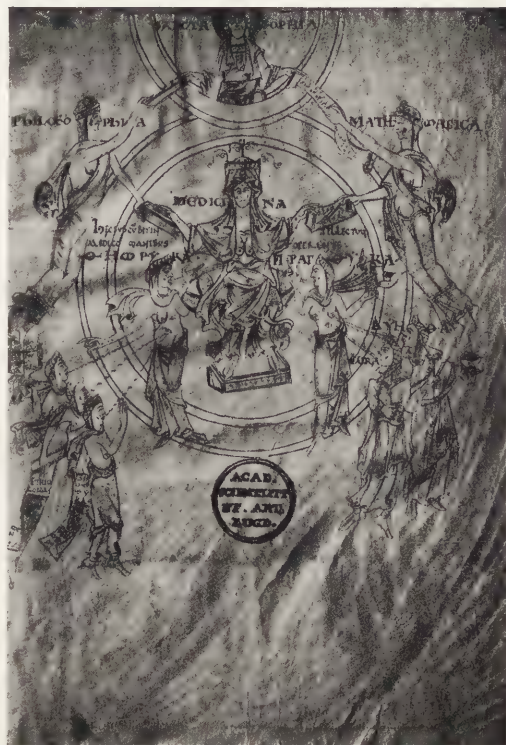


FIG. 30—LYONS, BIBL. DE L'ACAD.: PSYCHOMACHY OF PRUDENTIUS, MS. 22, FOL. 1. ELEVENTH CENTURY



FIG. 31—OXFORD, WADHAM COLLEGE: LATIN GOSPELS. ELEVENTH CENTURY

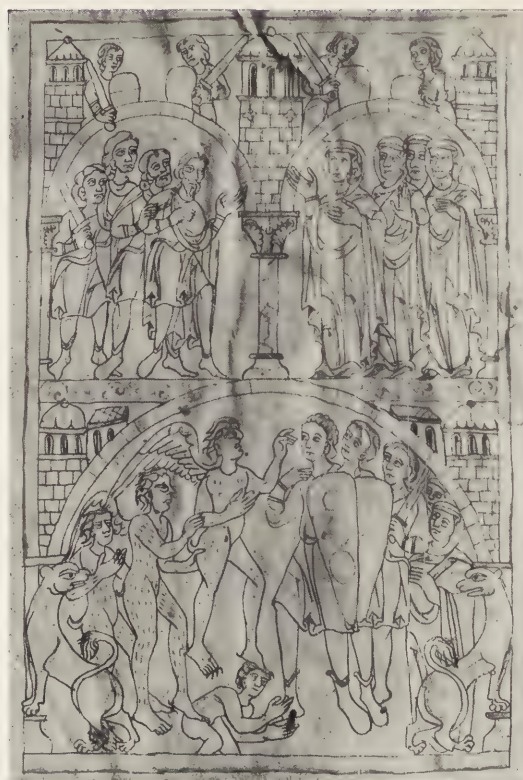


FIG. 32—TORTOSA, CATHEDRAL: OLD TESTAMENT. TWELFTH CENTURY



FIG. 33.—TORTOSA, CATHEDRAL: MISSAL, FOL. 49 v. TWELFTH CENTURY



FIG. 34—BOULOGNE, PUBLIC LIBRARY: GREAT LATIN GOSPELS. END OF TENTH CENTURY



second half of the twelfth century, as seen in the Lansdowne Psalter, dated slightly before 1170 (Fig. 27).¹

This parallel with English illumination is again no coincidence. The Languedoc "flying fold," mentioned above, is one more instance of the all-powerful influence of English illumination of the tenth and eleventh centuries. It is, as Professor Morey was the first to show, the source of the fluttering drapery style of the Romanesque schools of sculpture in Burgundy and Languedoc.² This English influence, which appears as early as the eleventh century in southern France, as shown by the St. Sever Beatus, with its flying drapery folds, humped backs, and violent movement (Fig. 28), is not only visible at Moissac, Beaulieu, and Souillac, but also later in the Apostles from the chapter house of St. Etienne, now in the museum at Toulouse.³ It is found in the second half of the twelfth century in Catalonia, as in the fresco from Santa Maria de Mur, now in the Boston Museum (fold in the Saviour's mantle).⁴ The most convincing demonstration of English style in Burgundy and southern France is afforded by a juxtaposition of the heads in such English manuscripts as the Missal of Archbishop Robert of Jumièges, in Rouen,⁵ the Latin Gospels at Boulogne (Fig. 34), or the Latin Gospels in Pembroke College, Cambridge (Fig. 29), with those in the Bible of Stephan Harding, third abbot of Citeaux, begun soon after 1109, now at Dijon,⁶ and the St. Sever Beatus (Fig. 28). In each there is the same linear treatment, the same unusual breadth of face and the same irregular contour of the beards; the English manuscripts, especially the Gospels at Boulogne (Fig. 34), show the unkempt, rumpled hair and humped backs, so noticeable in the St. Sever Apocalypse. The Prudentius manuscript at Lyons (Fig. 30) shows the strong dependence on English models and explains the English source of the style of early Burgundian sculpture. The same influence appears also in the St. Radegonde manuscript at Poitiers, dated by Ginot about 1100, where the French artist has copied almost line for line a conventional Canterbury border with six rosettes.⁷ Professor Morey has already remarked that in Languedoc the Isaiah at Souillac and the St. Peter on the jamb of the Moissac portal (Fig. 25) are close imitations of the angel locking the gate of Hell in the *Liber Vitæ* of New Minster.⁸

Analogies between eleventh-century English and twelfth-century Catalan manuscripts can be noted if we compare a page from the Latin Gospels at Wadham College, Oxford (Fig. 31), with a later page from an Old Testament manuscript now in the archives of Tortosa cathedral (Fig. 32). This English example lacks the nervous, fluttering folds of the Winchester school and shows an unusual sobriety for the period with which it is associated, but in the figure style of both manuscripts we note the same outline drawing, mantles veiling the heads of the women in the same fashion, and the robes showing a heavy hem at the lower edge.

¹The flying fold has a long history in the evolution of mediæval art. It first appears on the Hellenistic sarcophagus of Alexander and is common in Coptic work where it flies upward and down. In its Hellenistic form it passes into Asiatic work and then into Byzantine manuscripts. From some early Christian work it was adopted by the artist who executed the Utrecht Psalter. From such works it passed into English illumination and from there into southern France where it reappears in Romanesque sculpture of the early twelfth century.

²Charles R. Morey, *The Sources of Romanesque Sculpture*, *The Art Bulletin*, 1919, II, pp. 10 ff.

³A. Michel, *La sculpture romane*, in *Histoire de l'art*, I, 2, pl. VII.

⁴*Peintures murales catalanes*, fasc. IV, fig. 61. For the evidence of a date in the second half of the twelfth century see A. J. A., XXVII, 1923, pp. 63-64.

⁵Illustrated in color in John O. Westwood, *Fac-similes*, pl. 40.

⁶Arthur Haseloff, *La miniature au XII siècle*, in A. Michel's *Histoire de l'art*, II, 1, fig. 227.

⁷Cf. Émile Ginot, *Les peintures du manuscrit 250 de la bibliothèque de Poitiers*, in *Bull. arch.*, 1912, pl. LIX, with Arundel MS. 155, an eleventh-century manuscript written at Canterbury, Warner, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, 1903, pl. 10. The St. Radegonde manuscript has been published entire by Émile Ginot, *Le manuscrit de Sainte Radegonde de Poitiers et ses peintures du XIe siècle*, in *Bulletin de la société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures*, Paris, 1914-1920, IV, pp. 9-79.

⁸*The Art Bulletin*, loc. cit., pl. I.

Not only in Catalonia, but in Castile as well, English influence was active during the Romanesque period. Nothing could illustrate this better than a page from an illuminated manuscript of the twelfth century, now in the cathedral of Santiago, illustrating the exploits of Charlemagne (Fig. 37). If we compare the facial types of the horsemen of Charlemagne issuing from a city gate and those of the group of armed foot-soldiers standing outside the walls of Aix-la-Chapelle with a page from the life, miracles, and passion of St. Edmund, executed in the monastery of Bury St. Edmunds, in the early years of the twelfth century (Fig. 35), we find in the Spanish page the ugly facial type, long nose, receding chin, characteristic of English drawing in the twelfth century. The bodies in both manuscripts are flat-chested and elongated, and the legs dangle from the torso with toes barely touching the ground.¹

Such close similarities between our panel and the adaptation of English style at Moissac and its related monuments might even raise the query whether our work can be termed Spanish, or whether it might not have been imported into Catalonia from southern France. Certain features, however, show that it must have been executed in Spain. The tunics of the angels, for example, are not like the tunics of the Moissac tympanum. The artist has found it impossible to render this portion of the drapery with the same complication and here abandons his Languedoc models, making the garment stiff and straight, with two indentations in the lower edge. This produces a tubular effect, an old convention common in earlier Spanish work based on Italo-Byzantine and late Latin models.

Most Spanish of all are the archaistic heads. The hair is carefully delineated, as in the preceding panel, with two strands dividing above the forehead and caught up below the ears in large rolls. The curls then fall in two smaller loops, and the long ends, in the case of the Saviour, lie along the shoulder. Other resemblances with the preceding antependium from Montgrony may also be noted, such as the diminutive ears, the rendering of the lower lid of the eye as a straight line, and the treatment of the nose, the pointed moustaches and beard. The attempt to express age and majesty is heightened by the addition of wrinkles on the forehead, features which, together with the delineation of the nose—two long lines with small lobes to indicate the nostrils—are identical with that seen in the head of Saint Anthony the Hermit among the late frescoes of Santa Maria Antiqua.² When the head of Christ on our panel is compared with the head of Christ in the Spanish manuscript of Fig. 36 the expression is seen to be much the same; the result is a type unmistakably Spanish.

This resemblance and the connection with the head in Santa Maria Antiqua is no mere accident. A common basis underlies all the examples, since all show the traditional mode of representation which was common to the old Latin style of western Europe. This Orientalized Latin tradition, stronger in Spain than elsewhere, continued in the Iberian peninsula as late as the twelfth century, but was swept away in northern Europe in the ninth century by the Carolingian Renaissance, which developed, particularly in England, a linear and expressive style which was the exact opposite of the Latin. In fact, our panel presents a curious combination of these two important currents of early mediæval art, the old Latin style of southern Europe, as shown by the facial type of the Saviour, and the emotional style first appearing in the Utrecht Psalter of the ninth century and employed in the fluttering draperies of the attendant angels.

¹These mannerisms constitute a characteristic English style in the twelfth century, at Bury St. Edmunds and elsewhere. Cf. the Gospels of Pembroke College (Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Exhibition of Illuminated MSS.*, London, 1908, no. 23, pl. 28, p. 11); The Albani-Psalter (1110-46), now in the treasury of St. Godehard at Hildesheim; Psalter of Shaftesbury Abbey, dated slightly before 1170 (Warner, *Illuminated MSS. in the British Museum*, Series II, 2nd ed., 1910, pl. IX); Lansdowne MS. 383 (Warner, *op. cit.*, Series III, 1910, 2nd ed., pl. XI).

²W. de Grüneisen, *Sainte Marie Antique*, Rome, 1911, pl. XIV.



FIG. 35—LONDON, HOLFORD COLL.: ST. EDMUND CODEX. FIRST HALF OF TWELFTH CENTURY



FIG. 36—MADRID, ARCHÆOLOGICAL MUSEUM: MS. PAGE, SALA XII, NO. 2455. TWELFTH CENTURY



FIG. 37—SANTIAGO, CATHEDRAL: CHARLEMAGNE CODEX. TWELFTH CENTURY



The close analogies with the sculpture of southern France, which have been indicated above, furnish a definite *terminus a quo* for the date of this work. As imitative of such work as Moissac, not executed before 1115, and Beaulieu, dated by Mâle before 1135, the panel must be placed after the latter. The zigzag ribbon with foliate filling is an old manuscript ornament, but the bead-and-lozenge on the throne is like the bead-and-reel stucco ornament which is so common in Catalan antependia from the second half of the twelfth century on. The deep slit in the tunic worn by Christ, which is so close to French examples, even as late as Chartres, and the type of tunic worn by the angels, which is similar to that found in the fresco at Montoire, as well as the straight underlid, would all tend to place the panel toward the middle of the century. The old Latin formula used for the facial type, however, is evidence against a later date, and we must therefore place this altar-canopy in the second quarter or middle of the twelfth century.

The "Ludovisi Throne" and the Boston Relief¹

BY H. H. POWERS

At the New Haven meeting of the Archæological Institute ex-Secretary of State Lansing made a terse and admirable appeal (*cf. Art and Archæology*, XV, 1923, p. 90) to the archæologists to seek a larger usefulness and a larger support for their work in a closer understanding with the lay public. I have wondered whether the layman could contribute anything to the desired teamwork, anything, that is, except money and distant homage. Broadly speaking, I should say he cannot. But there are moments when it seems to me that the archæologist could profitably use a lay assistant in the intellectual field. Is it not possible that in the far search for recondite data, he may sometimes undervalue certain commonplaces of observation just because they are so near and so obvious?

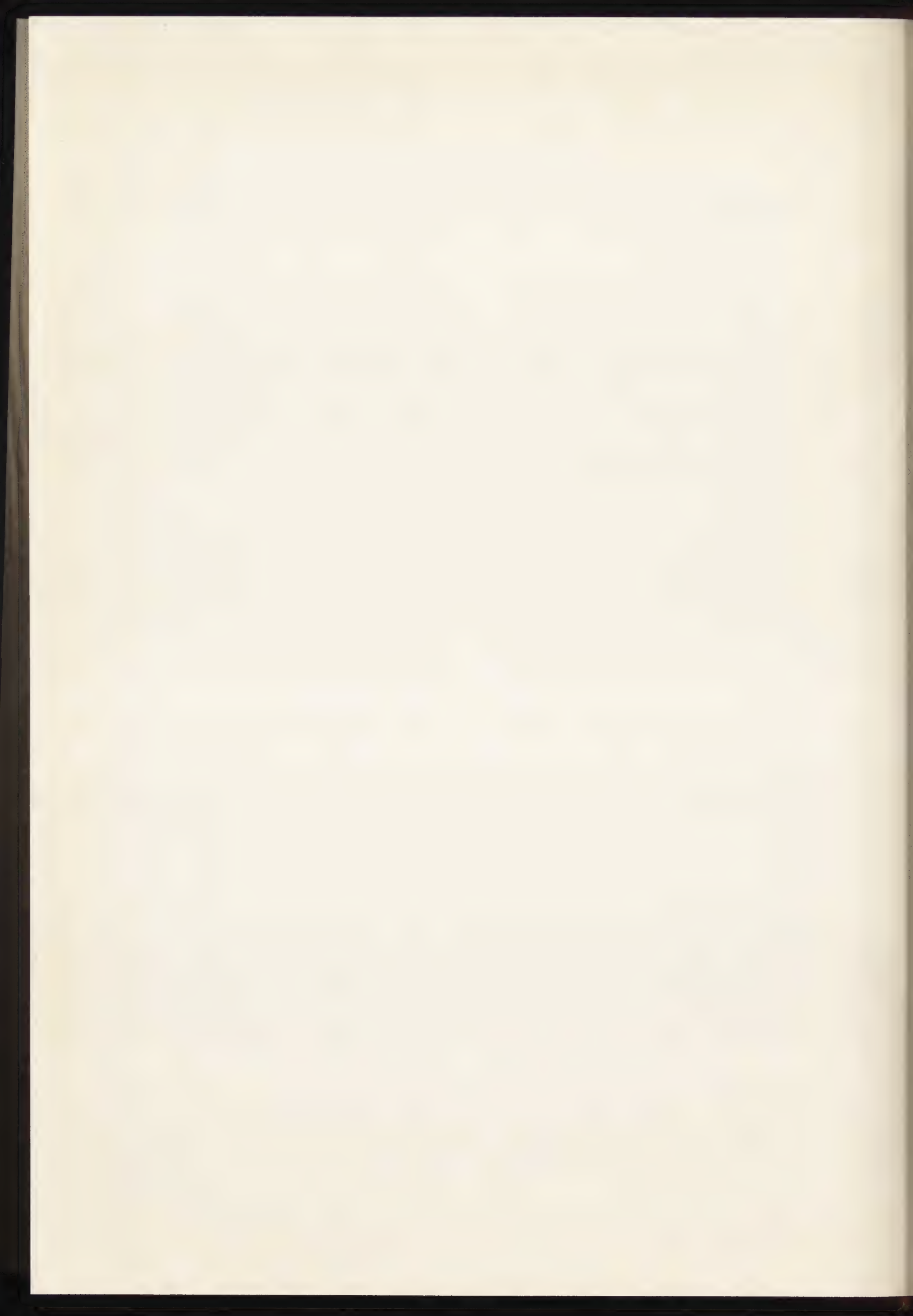
I am prompted to these suggestions by a perusal of the article concerning the subject of this paper contributed by Harriet Boyd Hawes to a recent number of the *American Journal of Archæology* (XXVI, 1922, pp. 278 ff.). Let me hasten to add that I have the profoundest admiration for that article. The writer's identifications are both plausible and significant, and, if this remarkable work can be associated with Themistocles, it is a welcome triumph of archæological research. I only regret that with all my eagerness to accept her conclusions in their entirety, I trip at the very outset on a commonplace obstacle of the sort that a layman could not overlook, but that the archæologist, with vision strained toward distant and obscure facts, may sometimes ignore.

My thesis, a revival, with additional reasons, of Gardner's, can be stated in a sentence. *The "Ludovisi Throne" and its Boston counterpart, wherever they originated and whatever purpose they served, were not, and could not have been, parts of one work.*

¹The literature of this subject is now so great that it is impracticable to cite it at length on each of the various frequently discussed points that arise in this paper. The earlier contributions are well digested by Studniczka (*Jahrbuch des archæologischen Instituts*, XXVI, 1911, pp. 50-192) whose work remains fundamental. Important articles that give the later literature are those of Klein (*ibid.*, XXXI, 1916, pp. 231-257) and Caskey (*American Journal of Archæology*, XXII, 1918, pp. 126 ff.), as well as that of Mrs. Hawes cited in the text. The most recent studies that have come to my attention are those of Ashmole (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XLII, 1922, pp. 248-253), and of Svoronos (*Journal internationale d'archéologie numismatique*, XX, 1922, pp. 108-159). Ashmole puts forward the theory that a scene of ritual connected with an underworld goddess, probably Persephone, is represented in a ceremonial robing. He even gives on page 252 an illustration of the very foundations on which he thinks that one or both of the reliefs stood at Locri. Svoronos argues that the Ludovisi throne with its pendant in Boston was part of the couch of Hera of Argos and was an original work by Polyclitus. He has a very interesting restoration on p. 159 in which he includes even the Praying Boy in Berlin. However, it is hard to believe that the sculptures date as late as Polyclitus. Dissent from the usual opinion that the two reliefs belonged to the same work has been raised before now by Gardner (*J. H. S.*, XXXIII, 1913, pp. 73-83 & 360), chiefly on stylistic grounds; by Amelung in *Helbig's Führer*, because of the familiar disparity in measurements, and by Kjellberg (*Ausonia*, 1912, p. 100), on both counts. These writers seem to be working independently; inspired by them, Klein, *op. cit.*, simply begins with the assumption that the Boston relief is a modern forgery, a thesis which no scholar who has studied the original itself—not even Gardner, be it carefully noted—has had the audacity to maintain. Among recent writers may be mentioned Casson (*J. H. S.*, XL, 1920, pp. 137-142), who conspicuously avoids committing himself to the connection of the two reliefs with the same work, and Miss Richter (*J. H. S.*, XL, 1920, pp. 113-123), who introduces a noticeable "if." Her subsequent footnote, p. 123, does not strike me as a strong counterblast: "Mr. William B. Dinsmoor suggests that the variation of measurements in the two monuments is due primarily to the difference in size of the two respective blocks of marble." I might say that I have often assigned this problem as an exercise in my archæological seminary and that the feeling of my students, especially of Professor Emily Shields, now of Smith College, and of Dr. F. P. Johnson, now Fellow of the American School in Athens, as well as of myself, has been that there was such a decided difference in style between the Boston and Ludovisi reliefs that the same artist could not have made the two, but that does not mean that they did not come from the same monument. Witness the difference in the Parthenon metopes. Even though we cannot agree with several of Dr. Powers' conclusions we are glad to publish his keen observations, which, however, we can hardly class as those of a layman, since, as President of the Bureau of University Travel, he has had more than a score of years' expert acquaintance with original art works themselves. D. M. R.



BOSTON, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS: RELIEFS ON THE COUNTERPART OF THE "LUDOVISI THRONE" (above) ROME, TERME MUSEUM: RELIEFS ON THE "LUDOVISI THRONE" (below)



Mrs. Hawes remarks somewhat inadequately: "The relief in Rome shows signs of having been denuded of a frame similar to that of the Boston marble." It has very obviously been so "denuded," or, more exactly, it has been removed from a socket or base in which it originally stood. But what was this frame or base? Surely not marble. Had it been marble it would have been executed in the original block as in the Boston relief. Any other method would have been far more difficult and far less satisfactory. The only excuse for using a separate piece would be to eke out a defective block. Such a hypothesis is all but impossible. The depressions for this base are shallow and imply the use of a frame not more than an inch and a half thick (Studniczka, *op. cit.*, tries to get around this difficulty by supposing the lost ornament projected much farther from the relief surface than on the Boston relief). They are symmetrical and extend all around the block. The piecing of marble is common enough, but did anyone ever hear of veneering a marble block with thin marble slabs? Such a procedure would throw quite into the shade the traditional painting of the lily.

No, the frame was not marble but something else, almost certainly bronze, as Petersen (*Römische Mitteilungen*, VII, 1892, pp. 32 ff.) originally proposed. The combination of marble and bronze is not popular today, but it was extremely common in the age in question, and we have every reason to believe that it was wholly congenial to fifth-century taste. The use of bronze in a case like this was more than usually appropriate as a protection to the marble above.

But while the use of a bronze base is justified both by fifth-century tradition and by its inherent fitness, what shall we say of a base, bronze at one end and marble at the other? Every consideration, both of tradition and utility, which might be urged in favor of a bronze base, fails us in the defense of this monstrous combination. My knowledge of Greek art is not encyclopedic, but I recall no analogous case.

Let us suppose, however, that divided councils or considerations of economy for once produced this unhappy *mésalliance*. Is the combination otherwise harmonious? By no means. Barring the difference of material the two frames were undoubtedly "similar," but none the less totally incompatible. Similar does not always go together. Strike two adjacent keys on the piano, for instance, and see. The fact is that these two bases, though similar, are mutually disparaging and self-destructive. The Boston ornament is much plumper and its curves more rapid, and it is surmounted by a heavy palmette ornament which was certainly lacking in the other (*cf.*, however, Studniczka's cast with tentative restorations in the Archæological Institute at Leipzig). To indicate how completely unlike these are, I have made tracings (very crudely) and have superimposed by dotted lines the one upon the other (see tailpiece). Assuming that the two curves have equal æsthetic value (they have not, but no matter), is it not plain that the combination would have no value whatever?

We are therefore asked to believe that while our altar, viewed from either end, was perfectly symmetrical, viewed from either side, it presented, along with the balanced compositions, a clumsy and totally unnecessary dissonance both in material and design. My early mechanical training as the son of a builder and manufacturer of furniture makes such a conclusion impossible. My later familiarity with Greek art is even more convincing. It will not do to urge the crudity of Greek art at this period. Our "throne" refutes the assumption. Nor will it do to say that Greek designs are not always symmetrical. In figure groups, no, but in conventional ornament, yes, and never more absolutely than in the early fifth century.

There are other indications that point in the same direction. The marble slab behind the "priestess" and the "ministrant" tapers in each case toward the center, but not at the same angle. When joined, they form a V shaped depression of that bungling sort which is so excruciating to the mechanical eye. This is indicated in the tracing, the line on the right being that of the Boston work and the dotted line the true angle required for symmetry. On the other side the discrepancy both in angle and height is even more striking. This sheer clumsiness and inaccuracy is something of which the Greek artist was never guilty.

So far I have confined myself to simple considerations of mechanical and conventional design which are within the competence of any good mechanic. You could not induce a self-respecting carpenter today to make the alleged combination. I will now venture briefly upon more dangerous ground where the reader, perhaps, will not follow me unless under the lead of temperament and intuition.

Mrs. Hawes remarks casually that "superiority of workmanship has been claimed for the 'Ludovisi Throne,'" a fact to which she seems to attach no importance if indeed she gives it credence. I confess to something of restiveness at this summary disposal of a fact of supreme significance. I may claim a certain familiarity with the work in Rome. My annual visit to that city never fails to find me again in its presence, spellbound by its ineffable beauty. But while I am a near neighbor of the Boston work and a not infrequent visitor to our museum, I feel but the most languid impulse to renew its acquaintance. The two works simply cannot be mentioned in the same breath. Nor is the difference simply that of two unequal partners in a single work. It is more than that and other than that.

There is first of all a difference in technique or "workmanship," as our author calls it. This difference comes out more and more as familiarity dispels the first deceptive impression of similarity. Compare, for instance, the body garment of the "Demeter" with that of the central figure in the Rome work. Both are of a well-known fifth-century type. The one is subtle, diaphanous, and exquisitely interpretative, the other schematic and commonplace. Compare the "Persephone" or the "ministrant" with the draped side figure on the "throne." More striking still, compare the hair of the Ludovisi figures with that of the "ministrant" or the "Demeter."

Going a bit beyond mere craftsmanship, compare the graceful outline of the "priestess" with the unplausible perpendicularity and lateral compression of the "ministrant." Note the hem of the "priestess" garment in rhythmic sympathy with the curved line below and the absence of any line music in the other. Above all, look at the facial expression in the two cases. The grave dignity of the one needs no explanation. Why the smirk of the other? We are reminded that "the archaic Greek sculptor had but one facial expression at his command to express all sorts of animation," but our author adds that "the artist who carved the Boston relief was far more expert." Being unable, however, to reconcile the facts of his work with this assumption of expertness, we are advised in turn "not to stress the smile that appears in greater or less degree on three of the four faces on the end of this monument."

I am sure that here is no conscious special pleading, but I am equally sure that the whole argument is fallacious. We have started with an assumption which we have unconsciously allowed to dominate us, and the facts that controvert it we think it wise "not to stress." The fact thus slurred over is one that is capital to our inquiry. Its plain meaning is that we have here the work of an inferior artist who, unlike his greater con-

temporaries, has not emancipated himself from the tradition of the archaic smile. Not one of the smiles in this work is appropriate or rationally motivated. In the time of Pisistratus this would be no discredit. In the time of Themistocles it has no such excuse. We are within sight of the "Apollo of the Omphalos" and the gravely dignified Olympia metopes. One or more of the beautiful heads of youths in the Acropolis Museum have already been executed. Above all, our Ludovisi artist is here with his magnificent work so completely emancipated from the belittling tradition. That the other artist, certainly familiar with this nobler work, should still be the slave of an outworn tradition, can be explained only on the supposition of lack of artistic faculty.

The smile is of a piece with the rest. The sidling posture of "Eros" has neither charm nor meaning. The draperies falling straight from the lap of "Persephone" are as graceless as they are gratuitous. The raised hand of "Demeter" may "express and command attention," but the sprawling fingers express only ineptitude. The line composition of the Ludovisi work is music; that of the Boston work is noise. These comparisons may be continued indefinitely, always with the same result.

But there is another difference which is as much more important as it is more intangible. All true works of art have, in addition to their ostensible or story meaning, an ulterior meaning, perhaps I should say, a suggestiveness, in which their true character and emotional value inheres. Secondary, imitative, and uninspired works lack this higher, this more intangible meaning. I am not sure that any words of mine can make the matter clearer. Nevertheless I will try, relying meanwhile on your intuition. The things of the spirit must be spiritually discerned.

It is said that Chapu, known to fame by his kneeling Joan of Arc, once chided a capable pupil saying: "Why don't you do something? You have been studying long enough. You can model anything. Get busy." The pupil replied: "Yes, I think I could model anything if I could only get an inspiration. If I could only get an inspiration like that Joan of yours, I think I could do it." "Nonsense," said Chapu. "Do you know how I did that? It occurred to me one day that I would like to 'do' a girl (the studio cant) in that position, and when I had finished, I cast about for a name for it. At last I hit upon Joan of Arc, and do you know, the thing took."

Very French, very sophisticated, very modern, do you say? Yes, in its accidents, but in its essence representative of true art in all time. The fact that the name was an afterthought is not the point. It merely illustrates the fact that the artist's inspiration, the emotion which he sought to express, and therefore the true meaning, was independent of the name and all that it suggests. It would have been largely independent had the name been there from the beginning. It is therefore not the "Joan" of it, but the "girl in that position," which we must study. It is in attitude, feature, and expression that we are to seek our meaning.

Let us turn now to a familiar classical example, the east pediment of the Parthenon. Who are those three reclining figures on the right, the Fates, the Graces, or some other triad? Is the male figure on the left Theseus or Ion? Suppose we had asked Phidias; might he not have replied something like this.

"Well, the point is this. You see here is the birth of Athena in the center, the theme of the composition. Then we have Helios and Selene at the ends. I needed these intermediate figures to fill the remaining space. The space required a gradation of attitude, some more and some less erect. And since attitudes can never be arbitrary and imposed merely by the exigencies of space composition, my thought was to have these figures express the

dawning consciousness of the great event as the hurrying messengers carry the tidings out from Olympus. The nearer figures are not only more erect but more alert, more conscious, while the remoter reclining figures are unconscious and relaxed. You see I not only needed these figures to fill the space, but I needed also to express this psychic wave of thrilling revelation emanating from Olympus if my great theme was to have its true poetic appeal.

"And now as to who these persons are, that doesn't so greatly matter. I suppose we must have names for them all. If we don't name them, the people will. That figure I had called Theseus. But Ion! That is a clever suggestion. That would do very well too."

Of course Phidias, being an artist, wouldn't have said all this. He talked in marble. But I imagine we are not so far from his meaning. Doubtless Phidias had names for all his figures, probably before they were executed. People then as now were chiefly interested in the Who's Who of art, and Phidias made the necessary concessions. But my point is that the names do not give us the meaning of these works, do not always even lead us toward it. The group of the "Three Fates" is one of the most meaningful and inspired groups in the history of art, irrespective of their haphazard identification. Perfectly graduated to the space, they are also perfectly graduated to the psychic and emotional requirements of their incomparable theme. We have lost their names, but we have lost nothing. We have perhaps escaped a disconcerting diversion of thought. Their real meaning is perfectly manifest.

Can we trace in the works before us anything of this deeper and truer art meaning, this vision that haunted the artist before he knew what to call it? To my mind the "Ludovisi Throne" is the first great example of this superconcept which has come down to us. We will accept our author's interpretation unreservedly as far as it goes. The designations are all satisfactory—and none of them essential. To me the central scene is unquestionably a childbirth, as proposed by Wolters (*Ephemeris Archaeologica*, 1893, pp. 227 ff.) and accepted by Mrs. Hawes, very likely the one she alleges (cf. also *Römische Mitteilungen*, 1892, p. 32; Robert-Preller, *Mythologie* p. 514,1). I am equally submissive as regards the other suggestions. This is what the Attic peasant saw, though he felt a little something besides. This something is what the artist felt well-nigh to the exclusion of all else, though he acquiesced mildly in the peasant's interpretation. Can we get hold of that something?

I am perfectly sure that the artist could not have helped us. He would have been mystified by our questions and surprised, possibly even amused by our answers. He would doubtless tell us that he never thought about that. No, he didn't. He felt about it. And we, in a helpless effort to feel his feelings after him, try to analyze them and find out why he felt as he did. It is a lame way to follow, but it is better than nothing, and for most of us the alternative is just that, just nothing.

The central scene represents a woman in childbirth—the goddess, if you will—yes, but in the absence of all knowledge of her form and features, she becomes of necessity simply woman, but woman in a capacity and an experience the most fundamental and universal that can possibly be imagined. The story of the goddess in travail therefore becomes of necessity the generalized expression of *woman the child-bearer*.

The draped figure upon the side is woman again, but how different! In posture, in costume, in occupation, in expression, she is the embodiment of refinement, culture, self-

restraint. There is no suggestion here of sex relation or sex function. This is *woman the person*, the inevitable embodiment of humanity's finer grain with the higher development of society. How many times we shall meet her counterpart in the later Attic sculpture, as for instance in the grave reliefs! How seldom shall we find her superior!

The third figure is just as unambiguous. Define her status as you will in terms of the Orphic cult or otherwise, she of necessity becomes woman again, *woman the giver of pleasure*. Here is no question of licit and illicit. To drag in such considerations is preposterously irrelevant. The successful presentation of his theme required the artist to portray woman in another of her generic characters as "the eternally feminine that lures us on."

Woman the child-bearer, woman the finer grained person, and woman the giver of pleasure, where else shall we look for such a trinity? We have here (quite unconsciously on the artist's part, perhaps) one of those vast generalizations valid for all time and place and richly charged with the emotional wealth of our accumulated experience, generalizations such as lie at the foundation of all great art. To the great artist, to a Homer, a Michelangelo, a Shakespeare, the simplest myth or legend but clothes the eternal verities, while to the mere craftsman these verities at their noblest are interesting only for their clothes.

The sculptor of the Ludovisi marble belongs to the former category, that of the Boston work to the latter. I confess my entire inability to see in the latter work either a high degree of technical excellence or a worthy art generalization. Every posture is in part arbitrary; every expression meaningless and infelicitous. It lends itself to interpretation (that is, to label pasting) as well as the other. The peasant perhaps thought it quite as satisfactory (though I doubt it). Can it be that the archæologist thinks so too? The Boston relief is sculpture; the Ludovisi relief is art.

To summarize briefly:

The two works, whatever their merit or kinship, cannot be satisfactorily combined.

The one had a bronze base, the other a marble base.

The two bases, though probably similar, differed widely in size, shape, and quality of line.

The base was symmetrical as seen from either end; it would have been obtrusively and gratuitously unsymmetrical as seen from the sides.

The reliefs differ widely in technical excellence.

They differ far more fundamentally in artistic concept.

They were never united, or if united, the whole was a complete failure.

How far does this reasoning invalidate the conclusions of Mrs. Hawes? Hardly at all. None of her identifications are disturbed. Her dating of the work is unaffected and seems highly probable. The ascription to Themistocles may still be allowed, at least for half of the work. The other half he need not hesitate to relinquish.

How then are we to account for the close similarity between the two? In the most natural way in the world, *imitation*. The Ludovisi work was famous. It had all the elements for universal favor—story, grace, charm, vast and obvious generalization. Its success must have been instant and enduring. When we recall the eagerness with which popular works were repeated—Orpheus and Eurydice, Hegeso and her jewels, the birth of Athena—what more natural than that other altars (perhaps in Phlya itself, though such an assumption is unnecessary) should have repeated the popular favorite. We need not, as Gardner

suggests, assume a late and decadent period for this repetition. The work may have been repeated within a decade.

And such a repetition would account for the displacement of bronze by the cheaper marble, for the similar but plumper scroll, for the different slope of the top, for the reversion to the archaic smile, for the analogous but less successful and more meaningless figures, in a word, for the Hamlet with Hamlet left out.







MUNICH, MUSEUM ANTIKER KLEINKUNST (ANTIQUARIUM): AN ORIGINAL GREEK BRONZE MAIDEN

An Original Greek Bronze Statuette in Munich

By DAVID M. ROBINSON

A few years ago (1909) the antiquarium at Munich acquired a beautiful bronze statuette of a maiden, 0.25 m. in height and nude save for a wonderfully arranged close-fitting hood (Pl. XLV). The statuette was found not far from Saloniki on the site of the ancient Macedonian Berœa. It has been well published by the distinguished archæologist, Professor J. Sieveking,¹ and the front view reproduced by him has reappeared in a number of other publications.² But because of the charm of the less familiar side view and because of the great importance of the bronze, it is a privilege to be able to publish in *The Art Bulletin* a heliotype from a negative made for the purpose by Professor Clarence Kennedy of Smith College, who has shown such remarkable appreciation of the real beauty of ancient statues in the artistic photographs which he has recently taken, often from new points of view and always with special attention to lighting.

The girl has lost her arms, which were made separately and soldered on, and a round hole under her right heel served to fasten her to a base now lost. Otherwise, the statuette is well preserved except for some oxidation on the front; even the silver that gave life to the eyes is still intact.

A close examination, which I was permitted to give the figure during a visit to Munich in 1922, made me realize that it was one of the finest of all bronzes. The very delicate chiselling on the eyes and hair and the exquisite workmanship throughout prove that it is an original Greek work, superior in artistic merit even to the wonderful bronze model of a horse which has recently been placed on exhibition in the Metropolitan Museum and which may be an original of Calamis (about 470 B. C.). The precise treatment of the hood and the symmetrical twisting of the hair date the maiden in the second half of the fifth century B. C., but the restraint and tightness in the modelling of the body, a certain flatness, the severe features of the face, the too slight rounding of the breasts, and the undeveloped hip line show such a survival from archaic art that I cannot agree with Sieveking in setting the date as late as the end of the fifth century. The statuette seems to me to continue very closely the tradition of the nude female as seen in the famous figure found on the Esquiline in 1874 and now in the Conservatori Palace in Rome. Some critics, because of the relation of its proportions to Polyclitus, have dated that figure about the middle of the fifth century.³ But the arrangement of its hair, the severe form of its head, the wide spacing of its breasts, and other features would seem to make the original bronze, of which it is an early Imperial Roman marble copy, contemporary with the "Ludovisi Throne" and date the original about 470 B. C., as is done by Bulle.⁴ In view of the fact that nude hetærae occur as early as 500 B. C. on the famous psykter of Euphronius in Petrograd, that even in the sixth century we have terracotta statuettes of reclining nude females and bronze figures of standing nude females used as mirror supports,⁵ and, espec-

¹*Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 1910, 1.

²*Archæologischer Anzeiger*, XXV, 1910, p. 481, Abb. 7; Waldmann, *Griechische Originale*, pl. 107; Bulle, *Der schöne Mensch*, pl. 150; *American Journal of Archæology*, XV, 1911, p. 430, Fig. 7; and elsewhere.

³Sauerlandt, *Griechische Bildwerke*, pl. 61; Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler Griechischer und Römischer Skulptur*, pl. 305.

⁴*Op. cit.*, pl. 148.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 312 ff.

ially, that there is a nude female (she wears only a hood) on the "Ludovisi Throne," I do not understand Bulle's reason for saying that a nude hetæra cannot occur before the second half of the fifth century, nor the statement in so many popular handbooks that the female nude was unknown before the time of Praxiteles.¹ But of course there may be truth in Bulle's ingenious theory that the Esquiline figure represents Hydna, the famous daughter of Scyllis of Scione in Thessaly. When Xerxes' fleet was anchored off Pelion, Hydna and her father dived into the sea and did so much damage that, for their patriotism, their statues were erected by the amphictyons at Delphi. According to Pausanias,² the statue of Hydna was later carried to Rome by Nero.

In any case, I am inclined to believe that the Munich statuette represents a hetæra and that whoever made it was following the general pose and proportions of body and head that we see in the Esquiline lady, though he separated the feet and thus made a more beautiful figure. If the Esquiline figure was an early work of Polyclitus or his school, the Munich hetæra might be one of the late works of his school, for its resemblance in pose to the Narcissus and Diadumenus leaves no doubt as to its Polyclitan character. The side view brings out, however, certain remarkable qualities, such as the anticipation of the freedom of Praxiteles and the use, long before his time, of the Praxitelean curve. Even here it was offset, as in Praxiteles' statues, by the straight line of a support at the statue's left, for from a gem in Berlin³ we can restore the left arm as resting on a pillar, while the right is dropping the garment in preparation for the bath.

The chief charm of the bronze maiden is in the perfect proportions, the beautiful curving outlines, the exquisite modelling, that restful restraint (*μηδὲν ἄγαν*) which was so characteristic of the best Greek art, and especially in its modernity and in its anticipating, not to say almost outdoing, the freedom of Praxiteles, which appears also long before the days of Praxiteles on white Athenian lecythi and on the Nike balustrade. These are a few of the points which make the statuette one of the most beautiful if not, as Sieveking says, the most beautiful, of the small bronzes which have been preserved to us.

¹Cf., e. g., H. H. Powers, *The Message of Greek Art*, pp. 101, 107. For the earlier appearance of the female nude one might cite the Niobid in the National Museum in Rome, many vases, terracottas, especially of nude lady dancers, and even marble statues, as well as Zeuxis' famous painting of Helen. See Müller, *Nacktheit und Entblössung*, pp. 140 ff.; *Jahreshefte*, XV, 1912, pp. 219 ff.; Bulle, *op. cit.*, pp. 311 ff.

²X, 19, 2.

³Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, pl. XXXVI, 25.

REVIEWS

TONE RELATIONS IN PAINTING. BY ARTHUR POPE. 8°, 73 PP., FIGS. CAMBRIDGE, HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1922. \$1.50.

Though modestly called a pamphlet, this little book is a useful addition to the literature of the teaching of design and painting, the field in which Dr. Denman W. Ross has been doing creative work of a high order for the past twenty-five years.

Even a cursory glance at Professor Pope's work reveals illuminating material for the presentation of the three dimensional nature of tone to the beginner. As I remember, it was Professor Tichener who, some years ago, objected to tone being taught through two dimensional charts. In Chapters I and II our author gives a very clear explanation of the tone solid, while the numerous diagrams, taken collectively, illustrate the matter so completely that a student sufficiently imaginative to grasp art ideas will acquire a vivid visual realization of the unity of tone phenomena. It is being assumed, of course, that laboratory practice has enabled the student to think in terms of value, color, and intensity as separate or as combined characteristics.

Had Dr. Ross done nothing but establish this fundamental idea, he would have made an invaluable contribution to modern art teaching, for this one thing has enabled specific control to replace general effect. Fortunately, he did not stop there and today it is obvious that a clear conception of tone is increasingly necessary as the student of painting or design faces problems of growing complexity.

The helpfulness of the many diagrams throughout the handbook becomes apparent on closer examination. In Chapter IV, where the division of scaled palettes into two general types aids intelligent classification, the little diagrams help the reader to grasp instantly the color and intensity relations in each scale.

After such an able description of the tone solid with its many possible scales, the reader is not surprised to find design in tone relations well presented. Naturally he expects an equally able discussion of the function of tone in the service of representation and under control of its principles, which are those having to do with proportion-action, projection (depth), and illumination, and can hardly avoid a sense of disappointment in not finding it. From the very nature of representation so much depends on the particular project in hand as to the tones to be used, especially in those falling under the first double head of proportion-action, that abstract discussion of such tones would seem almost valueless; but for the next two principles, projection into depth and illumination, much can be said of a general nature applicable to universal procedure. It is true that in Chapter VI the ranges and contrasts of value and intensity in painting are compared with effects in nature, and that other parts of the book give some valuable facts about tonal effects in representation, but one can hardly help asking why information about the tone solid itself and tone relations in design should be so much more thoroughly and systematically discussed than equally interesting and valuable conditions arising from the control of tones by the principles of representation.

After rereading the third chapter, dealing with design in tone relations, the feeling persists that the term *harmony* is overworked and leads to confusion in being used at one time to imply final unity of effect (its popular use), and at another to have the technical

meaning of a specific phase of unity accomplished through selection and arrangement based on repetition and similarity.

Again, the matter discussed under Harmony of Attractions seems to the reviewer to be really a form of tone, measure, and position balance, as implied by the author under balance and carefully dealt with by Dr. Ross in his early teaching and discussed some years ago by one of his students, Mr. Batchelder, in his *Principles of Design*, although Mr. Batchelder deals only with the value contrast of the spots against the background as influenced by area and distance from the center.

Provided the amount of difference or contrast in neighboring colors and values and intensities could be made the same, that is, reduced to a common measure of visual experience, as it were, then the total tonal contrasts of the spot with its surrounding tone or tones might be definitely calculated. In order to correspond with the color and value contrasts, as used in the Ross scales, there should be eight steps of intensity in the register of highest intensity for the respective color, the eight intensities to be fixed or uniform, in the manner of figure 8, on page 12, for four steps of intensity. Under such conditions it would seem that the combined force of the steps of color, value, and intensity contrasts of the respective spot with the similar characteristics of the background, or surrounding tone, could be computed and the result used as a total proportional attraction to be balanced against the proportional attractions of the other spots on the principle of the lever. While the student should be acquainted, frankly, with the questionable factors in this process of reasoning, its disciplinary value as a preparation for judging balance under complex conditions has been proved to the reviewer's satisfaction after a number of years of trial. The important point to emphasize in this connection is that the underlying relationship is a matter of equalizing contrasts from the standpoint of balance instead of unity achieved through sameness of tone, shape, or measure.

The implication of the handbook that the art student, and the practicing artist as well, can ill afford to ignore anything it is possible for him to know about his art, is the only healthy viewpoint for Americans, assuming our nation desires to see its life and ideas still more imaginatively and forcefully visualized than has yet been done. Enormous as has been the growth in American painting during the last fifty years, there is room for immediate improvement through a better comprehension of the influence of design in relation to representation.

Far from being recipes for beauty, as often popularly supposed, principles of visual organization and exercises in using them give mastery of materials with resultant freedom and power of expression through perfect control of visual effects. Dr. Ross and Professor Pope at Cambridge, Mr. Hambidge, Mr. Maratta (and the late Professor Dow) in New York, and many instructors, investigators, and practicing artists in various parts of the country are, each in his own way, helping the art of the future by an intelligent attitude of mind in the present.

John S. Ankeney

NOTES

TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETING

The twelfth annual meeting of the College Art Association of America was held at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, on Friday and Saturday, April 6 and 7, 1923.

PROGRAM

FRIDAY, APRIL 6

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON

10.00 A. M.

Registration
Inspection of the Museum's collections

11.15 A. M.

Luncheon at the Museum Restaurant

12.00 TO 3.00 P. M.

Visit to the collection of Mrs. John L. Gardner, Fenway Court

4.00 TO 6.00 P. M.

Visit to the collection of Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald, Brookline

6.30 P. M.

Dinner, by invitation of the Trustees of the Museum of Fine Arts, at the Museum Restaurant

8.00 P. M.

Meeting in Museum Classroom A, Professor Ellsworth Woodward presiding

Address of Welcome Director FAIRBANKS, *Museum of Fine Arts*

Response from the Chair

A Large Painted Canvas Icon from the Monastery of St. Sabbas? . . Assistant Director HAWES, *Museum of Fine Arts*

Antiques HOMER EATON KEYES, *Boston*

Some Unpublished Sienese Paintings G. H. EDGELL, *Harvard University*

The Origin of the Spanish Retable WALTER W. S. COOK, *Princeton University*

Another Sidamara Sarcophagus JOHN SHAPLEY, *Brown University*

SATURDAY, APRIL 7

FOGG ART MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

10.00 A. M.

Meeting in the Fogg Lecture Room, the Vice-President of the Association presiding

Color Analysis as a Way to Develop Personal Choice in Color Grouping . . CLIFFORD H. RIEDELL, *Smith College*

The Teaching of Drawing and Painting in the College ARTHUR POPE, *Harvard University*

The work of the Committee on Education of the American Institute of Architects

WILLIAM EMERSON, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

Some Results of the First Year's Work in the Formation of the New Series of Photographs of Sculpture

CLARENCE KENNEDY, *Smith College*

Art Principles versus Art History ELLA I. SIMONS, *Worcester Art Museum*

Business

1.00 P. M.

Luncheon, by invitation of the Fogg Art Museum, at the Colonial Club

2.00 TO 4.00 P. M.

Inspection of the collections of the Fogg Art Museum and of the special exhibits of Professor Kennedy's photographs and Professor Riedell's color charts

Visit to the other collections of Harvard University

4.00 P. M.

Reception at the residence of Professor and Mrs. Paul J. Sachs, Shady Hill

8.00 P. M.

Meeting in the Fogg Lecture Room, the President Elect of the Association presiding

Arthur B. Davies	DUNCAN PHILLIPS, <i>Washington</i>
The Use of Autochrome Slides as Illustrations for Lectures	HOLMES SMITH, <i>Washington University</i>
The Appreciation of Art	A. K. COOMARASWAMY, <i>Museum of Fine Arts</i>
The Art Division of the American Ceramic Society	EDWIN M. BLAKE, <i>New York City</i>
Christian Catacombs in Rome	DANA RICE, <i>Dartmouth College</i>

MINUTES

On approval of the Auditing Committee the following report of the Secretary-Treasurer was accepted: Expenditures, 1922-23, \$1,408.83; receipts, 1922-23, \$1,221.84; deficit, 1922-23, \$186.99; deficit, 1921-22, \$399.47.

The following resolutions were presented by the Committee on Resolutions and adopted:

Resolved, that we, the members of the College Art Association of America, in the twelfth annual meeting assembled, do hereby express our thanks to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, for its generous hospitality, to its Trustees for entertainment at dinner, to the Director, Assistant Director, and other members of the staff for cordial welcome; further, to Mrs. John L. Gardner for the opportunity of visiting Fenway Court, to Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald for receiving us at his gallery, to the staff of the Fogg Art Museum for placing the facilities of the Museum at our disposal and for entertainment at luncheon, to Professor and Mrs. Paul J. Sachs for the reception at Shady Hill, and, above all, to the local committee under the chairmanship of Professor Sachs by whom no pains have been spared for our comfort and entertainment.

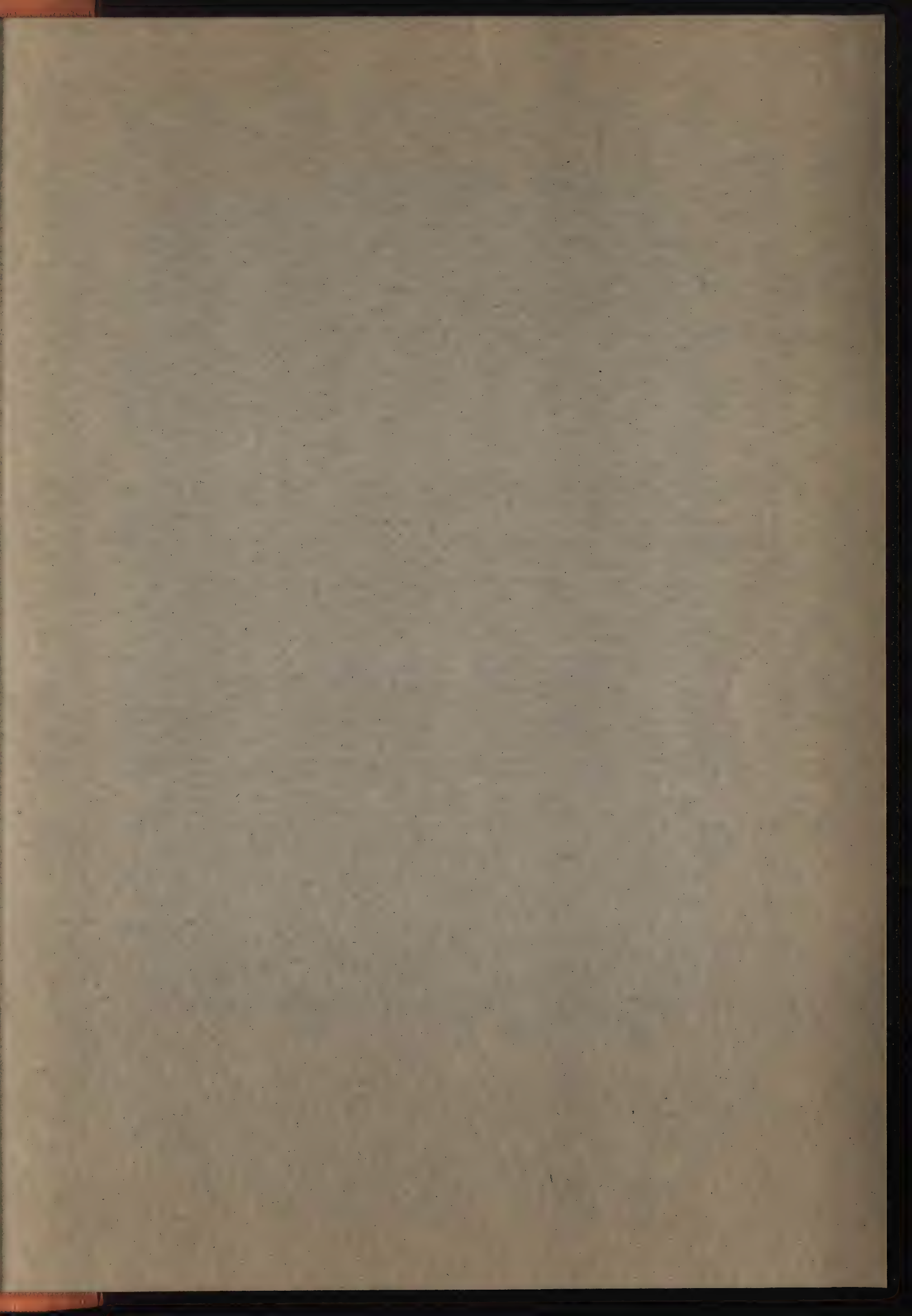
Resolved, that we, the members of the College Art Association of America, express our great regret at the retirement of President David M. Robinson and Vice-President Paul J. Sachs. During the four years of their administration the Association has continued its steady progress, has established and developed its quarterly magazine, and has maintained itself the equal of organizations in parallel fields both in public respect and in scholarly esteem. To their guidance in this advance we wish to pay this permanent, if inadequate, tribute.

Resolved, that the College Entrance Examination Board be asked to consider the advisability of including questions touching on the development of art in the examinations in history, and questions on the principals of design and the history of drawing and painting in the examination in freehand drawing.

Resolved, that the College Art Association of America extend its thanks to the Committee on Education of the American Institute of Architects for coöperation in bringing the advisability of questions on art before the College Entrance Examination Board.

The following report of the Committee on Nominations was adopted:

President	John Shapley
Vice-President	Alfred V. Churchill
Secretary-Treasurer	Myrtilla Avery
Directors	Alice V. V. Brown
	David M. Robinson
	Paul J. Sachs





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